

**A DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMAR OF NOON,
A CANGIN LANGUAGE OF SENEGAL**

by

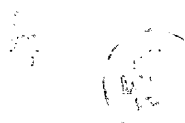
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ABSTRACT

Noon is a West-Atlantic language of the Cangin subgroup, spoken by 25 000 people in central Senegal, in and around the town of Thiès. The aim of this study is to provide a full grammatical description of Noon, since no such study has been done on the language. We have not followed a specific linguistic model as framework, but rather tried to work from the classical approach of presenting the structures in the grammatical units of the language, from morphology to discourse. All analysis is presented with language examples from data collected in the Thiès area over the years 1994-1998.

The study is divided into 11 chapters, followed by a short interlinearised text sample with a free translation. The first chapter presents a brief overview of the phonology and the morphophonological processes that take place in affixation. Another important feature described in this section is the restricted regressive vowel harmony process, based on the ATR feature. In chapters 2-3, the nominal system is described, including the noun class system of 6 basic classes with which most nominals are in agreement. There is also a threefold locative distinction present in determined nominals. This locative distinction is further elaborated in the demonstratives. Chapter 4 treats prepositions and adverbs. In chapters 5-6, verbal morphology and the verb phrase are presented. A major feature of the Noon verb is the derivational affixation which, apart from carrying aspectual information, also has bearing on the valency of the verb. The conjugational system is based on affixation, but also on the use of auxiliaries and particles. Chapter 7 deals with conjunctions, particles and interjections, and chapter 8 treats clause structures: independent ones, both verbal and non-verbal, but also dependent clauses. In chapter 9, different simple sentence types are described, followed by the complex sentences, including serial and reduplicative types. Chapter 10 depicts some important features that occur on the discourse level such as the wider use of spatial deixis in temporal and textual references. Finally, in chapter 11 is presented a comparative view of some of the major dialect differences in Noon.

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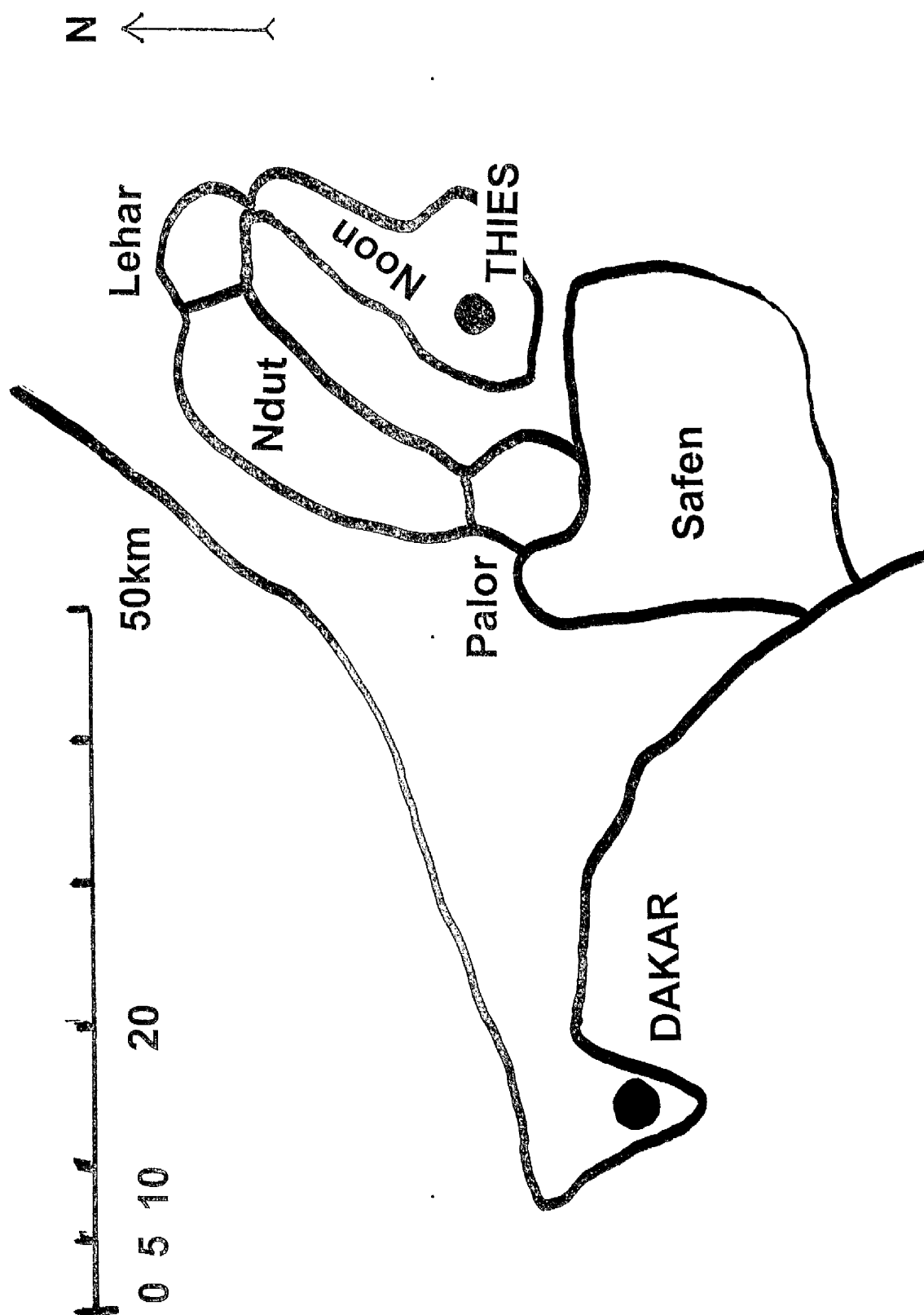
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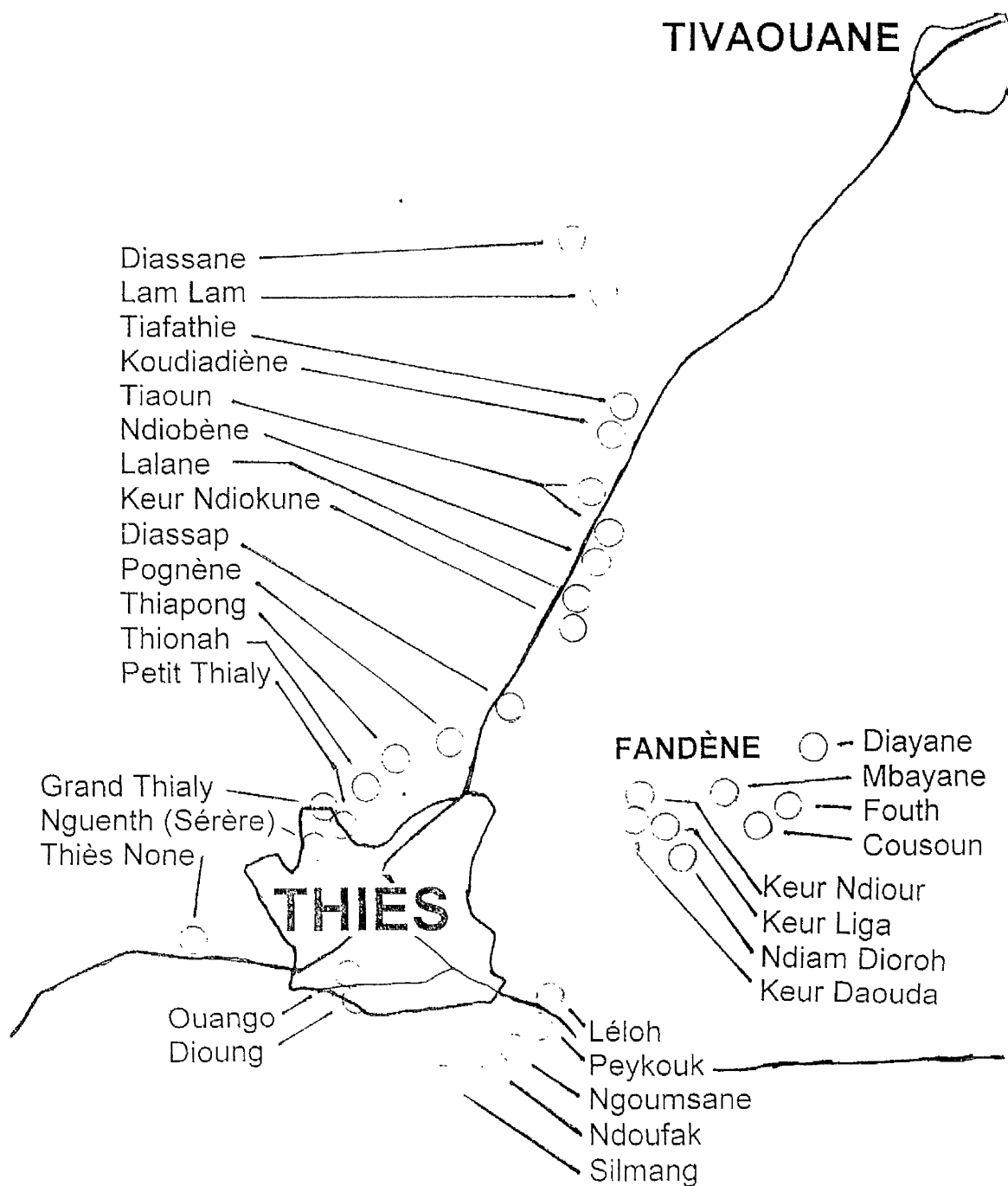
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Map 1: The Cangin group



Map 2: The Noon language area



ABBREVIATIONS

A	animate
ADB	adverbial prefix (<u>di-</u>)
ADJ	adjectiviser
Adv	adverbial
AGENT	agent (<u>-oh</u>)
AN	anaphoric
APP	apportative (<u>-doh</u>)
APPR	appropriative pronoun
ASP.NEG	aspect negation (<u>-cii</u>)
ATR	advanced tongue root
ATTR	attributive (prefix)
(AUX)	auxiliary
BEN	benefactive (<u>-id</u>)
C	noun class
CIRC	circumstantial (<u>lak</u>)
COM	communal aspect (<u>ki-</u>)
COMP	comparative verb (<u>wěñ</u>)
COMPL	complementiser (<u>an</u>)
CONJ	conjunction
DEF	definite suffix
DEM	demonstrative
DEM.LOC	locative demonstrative (<u>dii</u> , <u>daa</u>)
DIM	diminutive (<u>ku-</u>)
DIST	distal (<u>-nee</u>)
D.OBJ	direct object
DUR	durative (<u>-oh</u>)
EXCL	exclusive
FACT	factitive (<u>-luk</u>)

FUT	assertive future (<u>-an</u>)
GEN	genitive
HAB	habitual (<u>-i</u>)
IA	inanimate
IDEO	ideophonic adverbs
IMP	imperative (<u>-aa</u>)
IMP(pl)	plural imperative (<u>-at</u>)
INCL	inclusive
INF	infinitive
INSTR	instrumental (<u>-oh</u>)
INT	intensive derivational suffix (<u>-is</u>)
INTENS	intensive participle suffix (<u>-a'</u>)
I.OBJ	indirect object
LOC	locativising suffix (<u>-oh</u>)
LOC.OBJ	locative object
N	nasal insertion
NARR	narrative (<u>-ra</u>)
NEG.EXIST	negative existential particle (<u>gaa</u>)
NP	noun phrase
O	object
OBJ	object pronoun
OPT	optative (<u>-at</u>)
OPT.NEG	optative negative (<u>hanat</u>)
ORD	ordinal prefix
P.EMPH	emphatic pronoun
P.I	indefinite pronoun
P.REL	relative pronoun
PART	partitive preposition (<u>ga</u>)
PASS	passive (<u>-us</u> , <u>-u</u>)

PASS.PERF	perfective passive (<u>-uunun</u>)
PAST	past tense (<u>-ee</u>)
PAST.NEG	negative past (<u>-éerfi</u>)
PERF	perfective (<u>-in</u>)
PERF(pl)	plural perfective (<u>-uunun</u>)
(pl)	plural
PLUR	plural verbal suffix (<u>-us</u> , <u>-u</u>)
POSS	possessive pronoun
PP	prepositional phrase
PPloc	locative prepositional phrase
PPtemp	temporal prepositional phrase
Pred	predicat
PRES	presentative particle
PRES.NEG	present negation (<u>-oo</u>)
PROG	progressive particle (<u>Cii/Cum/Caa</u>)
PROH	prohibitive particle (<u>kaa</u>)
PTC	particle
PTC.EMPH	emphatic particle
PTC.Q	question introducer particle (<u>maa</u>)
PO	position
PO.1	first position (<u>-ii</u> near speaker)
PO.2	second position (<u>-um</u> near addressee)
PO.3	third position (<u>-aa</u> distant)
PO.4	fourth position (<u>-úu</u> very distant)
PQ	polar question marker/ yes-no question marker (<u>-e</u>)
PUNCT	punctual
REC	reciprocal (<u>-oh</u>)
REF	referential (<u>-ma</u>)
REFL	reflexive (<u>-uk</u>)

REL	relational pronoun
REL.M	relative marker (<u>-da</u>)
REV	reversive (<u>-is</u>)
REP	repetitive (<u>-is</u> , <u>-aat</u>)
S	subject
(sg)	singular
SP	spatial
SUB	irrealis subordinator (<u>-aa</u>)
SUGG	suggestion introducer, particle (<u>laa</u>)
TRANS	transitivising suffix (<u>-id</u>)
V	verb
VH	vowel harmony
VOC	vocative (<u>-oo</u>)
VP	verb phrase

0. INTRODUCTION

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0.1. The Noon people¹

Geographical situation

Among the West Atlantic languages in Senegal, the Cangin group is found in and around the region of Thiès, a town of 120 000 inhabitants at 70km east of Dakar. The Cangin group consists of 5 languages spoken by an approximate total of 100 000 people. The five languages are Saafi-saafi, spoken in an area south of Thiès, towards the coast; Palor, along the national road between Dakar and Thiès; Ndut, north-west of Thiès; Noon, in and around the town of Thiès itself; Lehar, north of Thiès, in the area west of Tivaouane (see Map 1, p. 12, which is a modification of *Carte 1* in WILLIAMS et al. 1987:11). The Saafi² is the biggest group with around 40 000 speakers, Ndut and Noon both have around 25 000 speakers, and the Lehar and Palor only a few thousand each.

Thus, it is in and around the town of Thiès that the Noon-speakers are to be found. The Noon-people used to form the core of the town's population, but as more and more foreigners came to settle in Thiès, the Noon started to move out from the centre of the town. Thus, the Noon villages are to be found adjacent to the town, or as quarters inside

¹Most of the information on the Noon people is based on a local level study done by a Noon co-worker, François Bagne Ndione from Fandène, who has received most figures from local village elders or teachers, from research done by CCF (Christian Children's Fund) and in some cases from the regional and local administration in Thiès. Many observations have also been made or verified by our own team.

²Saafi-saafi is the name of the language spoken by the people of Saafi

its borders, but clearly separated from the areas of other people groups. However, as Thiès is growing, more and more villages are being merged with the town. There are approximately 30 Noon villages of which the biggest is Fandène with its 3000 inhabitants. Fandène is located at 7km east of the town of Thiès, and is thus among the Noon villages that are furthest away from the national roads. Furthest away from Thiès are villages along the road to Tivaouane, such as Lamlam, bordering with the Lehar language.

Across the land of the Noon there is a river that runs from the hills west of Thiès towards the east, and past the village of Fandène. During the rainy season, which stretches from July to October, this river makes large parts of the country rather inaccessible by road. In the dry season, the river makes irrigation projects possible. The Noon area is a "green zone", i.e. where the main vegetation elements are palm-trees - "*rôniers*" -, the *baobab* and the *kad* trees. The area has been hit by desertification during the last twenty years, although in recent years rains have been more sufficient.

Demography

Of the 25 000 Noon-speakers, the majority still live in their original areas and villages. Around 15% have left the area for reasons of work, to live in other places in Senegal, mainly in Dakar, or abroad. However, most of these people still keep very close ties with their home village and family. Around 45-50% of the population are younger than 15 years old, a number that is higher in the villages than in the town itself.

Economy

The Noon are both an agricultural and urban people. Agriculture in the villages consists of cultivation of millet, beans, peanuts, vegetables and fruits. Other sources of income are from small commerce, carpentry or crafts. A speciality of the Noon is the weaving of baskets and production of lightweight furniture - all products from the palm-tree. The urban population have different types of occupations: many young girls work as domestic helpers; other adults are for example in teaching, in the clergy or in the administration.

Education

Almost every Noon village has a primary school³, public ones in most cases but Catholic in two villages. In the town of Thiès there are several Catholic schools where many Noon send their children. The language of education is French, or in a few cases Arabic. For higher education, students have to move in to town (Thiès) where schools are available up to the level of "*baccalauréat*". Today, a very large portion of children start school, but the drop-out number is very high, mainly due to financial reasons. Especially girls are often taken out of school after one or a couple of years, and put to work at home or as domestic helpers.

The average rate of illiteracy is around 50%, but in addition to that some 20% are semi-literate, having done only a few years of school. Looking at the age division of illiterate persons, the numbers are much higher among adults: around 95% of the population above the age of 30 are illiterate.

In many of the Noon villages literacy projects have begun during the last couple of years by several NGOs⁴, but it is still only done in Wolof, the biggest national language of Senegal and the trade language of the area. A very large proportion of the Noon are bilingual in Wolof, and these literacy classes are aimed mainly towards women who have not had the possibility to reach an adequate level of French in the educational system. At the moment, literacy materials in Noon are being produced, as well as transition materials from French, and within a few years literacy classes should be running in Noon in the Noon villages. On the national level, the aim of the ministry of education is to work towards and prepare the primary education system to make a transition into local languages for the first year(s) of primary school. This aim is also present in the work among people and organisations in the Noon area.

³i.e. an "*école primaire*" with a minimum of 6 years (or 6 classes)

⁴non-governmental organisations

Religion

Although 95% of Senegal's population is Muslim, the Noon people show a different picture. Over half of the Noon are Roman Catholic, with the other, lesser part, being Muslim. The Catholic mission came to the Noon people in the early 1800's, and today the Noon are greatly represented among the Catholics and also the clergy. The division between the religions lies mainly between villages, most being either one or the other. However, there is no social division between Muslims and Catholics within the people group, and intermarriages between Muslims and Catholics are quite acceptable. The reason is probably that most traditions and practices, that are today linked to a religious feast or occasion, have often merged with previous animistic traditions which are still existing below the surface, in the beliefs of most people.

Sociolinguistic situation

Although the Noon live in rather homogenous villages or quarters in town, they are very much living in a cultural mixture of people from different ethnic groups and languages. This is more accentuated in town itself, but even in the more remote villages there are other ethnic groups present that live in adjacent villages or as nomads in the area. In the villages it is mainly the Wolof and the Peul that are found, sometimes Bambara, while in town these and several others are living next to the Noon (Serere-Sine, Diola etc.). The result of this cultural mixture is that all contacts outside of the family and people group are conducted in Wolof or French, depending on the type of situation: Wolof for most contacts with other Senegalese except in matters concerning administration, education or anything related to written language; French for all contacts with foreigners. The people living in Thiès itself are naturally more exposed to, mainly, Wolof than those outside town. As a result of this fact, a difference can be seen in the language acquisition of children: In town (in the Cangin dialect) the children tend to learn Wolof in parallel with Noon, while in the villages the children do not learn Wolof until they start school at the age of 6. In mixed marriages, where one partner originates from another group than the

Noon, the common language in the household is normally Wolof, even if neither of them has Wolof as his/her mother tongue.

In spite of this wide use of Wolof among the Noon, there is a certain reluctance towards the language which is perceived as the language of commerce, exploitation and, sometimes, corruption. This attitude most likely derives from the conflicts between the Wolof and Noon that date back to long before independence. On the other hand, the French language is by most people seen as a necessary and beneficial asset, since it gives the speaker a higher status in society.

0.2. The Noon language

0.2.1. Classification and previous studies

The ethnic group and language Noon has been referred to several times in the literature during the past century. One of the first written references to the people as *Serer-non* was made in 1913 by Migeod in "The Languages of West Africa." Delafosse refers to Noon in a chapter on "Langues du Soudan et de la Guinée"⁵ (1952), where he distinguishes between the languages *Sérère*, called «*sérère-sine*» and the *None* called «*sérère-none*». In 1931, Aujas wrote on the *Sérères*:

"Les Sérères se divisent en deux fractions: les Sérères Nones qui habitent le cercle actuel de Thiès, et les Sérères Sine qui ont pour habitat géographique le pays du Sine et une fraction de celui du Saloum." (AUJAS 1931:298)

This view of the Noon as a dialect of *Sérère* prevailed in linguistic classification for a long period of time:

⁵This is a study which was written in 1924 but published in 1952 in "Les Langues du Monde."

- In 1953, Lavergne de Tressan includes Noon in his "Inventaire linguistique de l'Afrique occidentale française et du Togo." Here, he divides the group *sénégalo-guinéen* into four groups, of which group A contains 1) *Wolof* 2) *Sérèr* 3) *Dyola*. The *Sérèr* group is described as follows:

"Tant du point de vue ethnique que du point de vue linguistique, les Sérèr ne constituent pas un tout. Il semble qu'on doive distinguer deux groupes de dialectes; c'est ce qui avait incité Delafosse à classer d'une part le Sérèr, qui, pour lui, était représenté par le dialecte Ndyégèm ou Kégèm, de l'autre le Non. Je distingue donc ce que j'appellerait les vrais dialectes Sérèr et les faux dialectes." (1953:150)

The Noon is described as being part of the second group of "*faux dialectes*", together with the *Safènsafèn* and the *Ndut*.

- On the same line, Westermann and Bryan classify *Serer Non* also called *Dyoba* as one of two *Serer* dialects, the other being *Serer Sin* (1952:18).

- In 1966, Greenberg classifies the *Serer-Sin* and the *Serer-Non* as members of the northern subgroup of the West-Atlantic language group.

It was not until in 1966 that Noon was classified as belonging to a group separate from the Sérère. This was done by the Austrian linguist Walter Pichl who wrote an article titled "The Cangin group - A Language Group in Northern Senegal". Here, Pichl gave the label "Cangin group" to the languages spoken in the Thiès region, since he found that "Cangin"⁶ was the name of the town of Thiès in these languages. Pichl stated that this group was clearly separate from Sérère, and therefore he "propose(d) not to quote these languages as SERER-Sin and SERER-Non or SERER-Ndut, but simply as SERER and CANGIN" (PICHL 1966:12). The languages Pichl included under the label "Cangin" were the *None*, the *Safen*, the *Ndut*, the *Palor* or *Falor*, and the *Lehar*. In the same article, Pichl also documents a brief sketch of the Cangin languages, particularly in view of comparison

⁶In Noon, today, the word cangin or cagin is used for the Noon people living in the town of Thiès and their dialect, not the town itself which is called Caañaak. In the other "Cangin languages" however (Saafi-saafi, Ndut etc), the word "Cangin" designates the town.

to *Serer-Sin*. He describes some phonetic/phonemic structures as well as some morphological features concerning, for example, noun classes and agreement.

On the basis of Pichl's study, the Cangin languages form a separate subgroup in the northern branch of the West Atlantic languages in the classification of Sapir (1971), and the same grouping is found in later classifications, such as in Wilson's chapter "Atlantic" (1989).

In 1987, SIL (Summer Institute of Linguistics) undertook a sociolinguistic study of the five languages in the Cangin group, to state the relation between the languages. This was done through lexical and phonological statistics as well as grammatical comparison, and by evaluation of attitudes towards and usage of the language. The intelligibility with *Sérère-Sine* and the degree of bilingualism in Wolof were also taken into account. The results showed that "*le groupe cangin se compose de cinq langues fondamentalement inintelligibles: le ndut, le palor, le lehar, le none, et le safen*" (Williams et al. 1987:8). The study also showed that frequently, it was more common for people to use Wolof when addressing speakers of another Cangin language, than for them to use their own related languages. In spite of the strong position of Wolof, it was concluded that "*rien ne permet de penser que, dans le domaine de la famille et des relations interpersonnelles privées, on puisse assister à un glissement vers l'utilisation du wolof*" (p. 8).

In summary, although Noon has long been known and documented as an ethnic group, it was for a long time grouped with the Sérère languages, until the 1960s when it was classified linguistically as belonging to a separate group, called the Cangin group. However, although it has been clearly shown that there is no close linguistic link between the Cangin languages and the Sérère-Sine, these people groups still consider themselves as being part of the Sérère culture, which is then taken as a cover name for a whole range of ethnic groups and languages. In popular speech, the Cangin languages are called "*les sérères de Thiès*", and the languages are still referred to as "*sérère-noon, sérère-ndut* etc.

During the last 20 years, the Cangin languages have been the objects of several studies, resulting in a growing awareness of and knowledge about this group:

- The phonology and morphology of Saafi-Saafi has been the object of the doctoral thesis of Mbodj (1983) and a more recent contribution to the phonology has been made in a *maîtrise* by Dia (1997).
- The phonetics and phonology of Ndút have been explored in several studies (including *maîtrise* and *thèse de doctorat*) by Gueye (1980, 1984 and 1986), and in 1996, Morgan presented an overview of its grammatical structures in an MA thesis.
- In 1987, d'Alton, in her *thèse de doctorat* gives an phonological and grammatical sketch of the language Palor.
- The hitherto major contribution towards an understanding of Noon has been provided by a doctoral thesis by Jeanne Lopis, done at the University of Sorbonne, Paris: "Phonologie et morphologie nominale du noon, parler de Ngente" (Lopis 1981), but so far, a full description of its grammar has not existed.

The whole group of Cangin languages has been the object of some studies, such as the *maîtrise* by Diop (1989), the comparison of the relative clause in the Cangin languages by Lopis-Sylla (1985) or the article on intelligibility and language boundaries within the group (Williams 1994).

0.2.2. Language dialects

Noon is divided in three main dialects with the following names, used by their own speakers: Padee, that is spoken in the greater village of Fandène, east of Thiès; Saawii,⁷ spoken in the northern villages from Lalane-Diassap to Koudiadiene; Cangin, spoken in the town of Thiès itself (see Map 2, which is a result of our own local level studies).⁸ The following is a list of the Noon villages, grouped according to dialect:

The Noon villages:
in French in Noon

Padee dialect

FANDÈNE:	PADEE:
Keur Ndiour	Ce'aa Ŋjuu'
Keur Daouda	KiTokkinaa
Keur Liga	1. KiTagoh
	2. Ce'aa Kújún
Ndiam Dioroh	Jíñjĩroh
Cousoun	Kúsún
Fouth	Fúy'
Diayane	Ce'aa Waal

Cangin dialect

Léloh	Leeloo
Peykouk	Kuuk
Ngoumsane	Ŋgumee / Ŋgumisaa
Ndoufak	Kúndóok
Silmang	Sílmang / Sílměŋ
Dioung	Coonaa Yuuŋ
Ouango	Wangoo
Thiès None	Sapkoo
Nguenth (Sérère)	Ŋgente / Ŋgenti
Grand Thialy	Caalii Luufaa
Petit Thialy	Calaw
Thionah Thiapong	Coonaa Capon
Pognène	Poñin

Saawii dialect

Diassap	Caap / Caasap
Keur Ndiokune	Kuyuŋ
Lalane	Laalaa

⁷The name of the Noon dialect, Saawii or Saafii, is not to be confounded with the name of the related language in the Cangin group, *Saafi-saafi* (where the people are called *Saafi* and their country *Safen*).

⁸It can be added that to the Noon, the Lehar is often regarded as a dialect of Noon, although this thought is not shared by the Lehar speakers.

Ndiobène	Saawii, Saafii
Tiaoun	1. Cawuu Jooraa 2. Cawuu Luufaa
Koudiadiène	Kujiji, Kujajen
Tiafathie	Cafac
Lam Lam	Lam Lam
Diassane	Jaasaa

There is, up to now, no full description of any of the Noon dialects. However, as mentioned above, a description of the phonology and the nominal morphology of the Cangin dialect of Noon (subdialect of Ngente), has been done by Jeanne Lopis in 1981.

The differences that exist between the dialects are both lexical and phonological. The lexical ones are quite few, and in the majority of cases the dialectal words are known and recognised by most people. The phonological differences are in most cases of consistent and predictable type, such as in the example of plosives: All voiced plosives that occur in Padee and Saafi are represented by prenasalised voiced plosives in Cangin.

A linguistic comparison between the dialects, based on our own work and that of Lopis will be presented in chapter 11.

0.2.3. A brief outline of the language

Noon is a non-tonal language, with the basic constituent order of SVO. It is agglutinative, with suffixes as the most common form of affix, although several prefixes occur. The basic syllable patterns are CVC and CV, and the vast majority of the verbal roots are formed as CVC. The nominal system contains 8 noun classes (6 singular and 2 plural), and there is concord between the noun and its determinants and referring pronouns with respect to noun class, size, animateness. The definite suffix marks the nominal for both noun class and position. Among the personal pronouns, the first person plural shows a distinction between the inclusive and exclusive pronoun. The verb root can occur in a range of derivations, and it is not uncommon to find up to three derivational suffixes. The

stem is conjugated according to both aspect and tense. In order to express modality, the use of auxiliary verbs is widely spread. The verbal system contains a set of stative verbs which, in addition to their verbal quality, also assume most of the adjectival functions. There is, however, a handful of "true" adjectives as well. The numeral system is based on the number five.

As for the phonology, Noon has 27 consonants with contrast between the labial, alveolar, palatal and velar articulations. The consonants include, among others, voiced prenasalised plosives, implosives and a phonemic glottal. At morpheme boundaries, there are extensive consonantal changes taking place, one of which is consonant gemination. There are 20 vowels in Noon where each of the 5 basic qualities has a long and a short form, in addition to a [-ATR] and a [+ATR] form. There is a restricted vowel harmony with respect to the ATR feature.

0.3. Methodology

0.3.1. Fieldwork

In January 1994, I and my husband, Heikki, arrived in the area as a language team of Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), in order to study the language and the culture of Noon. We started language learning in Jínjíro, one of the small villages that make up the bigger community of Fandène. For the first year, our main informants were Antoine Diop and Marcel Tine, both farmers in this village. Later during the first year, we started working with François Bagne Ndione, with whom we have since had an ongoing collaboration in projects of language development in the Noon area. François comes from a different part of Fandène (Kúsún) but has also had university training in philosophy and modern languages at the University of Dakar.

As part of our work, during the first two years we spent in the language area, we started to analyse the phonology, morphology and syntax of the Padee dialect of the language. We also collected text material such as folk stories, other stories, songs, proverbs, informative texts. Many of these texts were transcribed from recordings of the oral form, and all texts were checked by another native speaker of the language, regarding the naturalness of the language. These collected texts and notes were the base of my research when I started to work on this thesis in 1996. In the academic year of 1997-1998, I returned to Senegal to further investigate some matters and to verify certain hypotheses.

In addition to the studies in phonology, morphology and syntax mentioned above, we have also worked on, among other things, a number of language learning lessons, an anthropological paper on the world view of the Noon, and an article on consonantal changes in Noon (Bull et al., manuscript). We have also tried to prioritise the work on our own language ability in Noon, and by now we have reached a fluency which allows us to work only in the language itself. On the basis of our own studies and analyses, we have submitted an orthography proposal to the Ministry of education, and we have started to see this orthography come into use. During our time in the language area, we have seen the start of a literacy movement in the mother tongue, and also of transition classes from French into Noon for educated mother-tongue Noon speakers. In the wider use of the written language, it has also been possible for me to verify the accuracy of my research among a wider group of people.

0.3.2. The present study

The overall aim of this study has been to present a descriptive grammar of a language which has not previously been documented, more than partially, and which is, in spite of its relative smallness, a living language in a dynamic, culturally aware people group. We have not followed a specific linguistic theory as a framework, but rather tried to find a

way to depict the language in the clearest and most concise form which still accounts for the characteristics of this language. Naturally, the study has been done with a continuous comparison to other languages; African in general and West Atlantic in specific. It is a rather classical or traditional approach that has been used in this description, going from the smaller to the larger units of the language, presenting the general features, followed by the more specific ones as well as the exceptions to general rules. When possible, generic rules have been set up to account for the grammatical structures that occur, and for the changes, specifically on the morphophonological level, that take place. At all levels have we tried to provide accurate and central data in Noon to exemplify the feature being described.

The study is divided into 11 chapters, followed by a short interlinearised text sample with a free translation.

- The first chapter presents a brief overview of the phonology, both segmental and suprasegmental, and the morphophonology of Noon.
- The nominal system is presented in chapters 2 and 3: the morphology (ch. 2), where the noun classes are described as well as the noun word - the root, derivational and inflectional affixes -, determiners and pronouns; the noun phrase (ch. 3), which may be simple or complex, and its post-modification
- Prepositions and adverbs are treated in chapter 4.
- In chapters 5 and 6, we have treated verbal morphology and the verb phrase. The morphology (ch. 5) presents the verb root, derivational and conjugational affixes and particles, object pronoun suffixes and auxiliaries. The description of conjugational affixes and particles also contains a short presentation of the uses of the different tenses and aspects. The verb phrase (ch. 6) is interpreted here as equalling the predicate, and therefore it will contain the verb with all the obligatory elements that occur with it. Another type of verb phrase that is treated is the non-verbal one, where the predicate does not contain a verb but only a predicate particle representing the verb.

- In chapter 7, we deal with conjunctions, particles and interjections which are sometimes part of the nominal or verbal phrases but which also function on higher levels in the language.
- Chapter 8 presents clause structures: independent ones but also dependent clauses such as the relative and the subordinate clause. There is also a summary of the different clause elements that can occur.
- In chapter 9, different simple sentence types are described, defined by specific structures and semantic function. Further on, complex sentences are presented, both of co-ordinative and subordinative type. Among the co-ordinative sentences, we also find the serial sentence and the reduplicative clauses.
- In chapter 10, we have tried to depict some features that occur on the discourse level; cohesion within a paragraph; participant reference, specifically in narration; the wider use of spatial deixis; theme, focus and emotive emphasis; different devices for foregrounding and backgrounding; speech forms. This is by no means an exhaustive list of the features that do occur on discourse level in the language, but since this study tries to provide a full grammatical description of the language, there is not enough room for a fuller account in this domain. However, these features that are brought up are all central and general, and they are important examples of the characteristics of Noon.
- Finally, in chapter 11, we give a comparative view on some of the major dialect differences, mainly based on a comparison between our study on the Padee dialect, and that of Dr Jeanne Lomis on the Cangin dialect (Nguente). The differences presented are basically restricted to phonological and grammatical ones, not lexical, and they have also generally been observed by us in our language work within the Noon community.

The aim has thus been to give as full a picture as possible of the grammar of the language, given the restrictions of it being treated in one single study. Naturally, some areas would need to be objects of more investigation and study, but we hope that this presentation would provide a contribution to the documentation of Noon.

1. PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOPHONOLOGY

1.1. Segmental phonology

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- 1.1.6. Consonant length
- 1.1.7. The implosives /ɓ/ and /ɗ/
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- 1.1.9. Phonemic distribution of consonants
- 1.1.10. Feature matrix of consonants
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- 1.2.2. The phonological phrase. Intonation patterns

1.3. Morphophonology

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- 1.3.7. Vowel harmony
 - 1.3.7.1. Vowel harmony in the word root
 - 1.3.7.2. Vowel harmony in suffixation

1.4. Orthography

The following presentation will give a brief overview of the phonological system of Noon, followed by a description of the general morphophonological changes that take place in the language. The purpose of this chapter is not to present an in-depth phonological study, but to outline the necessary foundation for the syntactic description.

1.1. Segmental phonology

1.1.1. Vowel charts

The vowel system in Noon is based on 5 vowels that appear in a [+ATR] and a [-ATR] form, and both sets of vowels show a short-long contrast. There are no diphthongs in the language. This gives a total of 20 vowel phonemes, as presented in the diagram:

short vowel phonemes

	front		central, back	
	-ATR	+ATR	-ATR	+ATR
close	i	í	u	ú
mid-open	e	é	o	ó
open			a	ä

long vowel phonemes

	front		central, back	
	-ATR	+ATR	-ATR	+ATR
close	i:	í:	u:	ú:
mid-open	e:	é:	o:	ó:
open			a:	ä:

The symbols used here for the vowel phonemes correspond to the following IPA

symbols:

í	[i]	i	[ɪ]
ú	[u]	u	[ʊ]
é	[e]	e	[ɛ]
ó	[o]	o	[ɔ]
ë	[ə]	a	[a]

1.1.2. Vowel length

In Noon, vowel length is contrastive, as seen in the examples:

1. /e:/ /se:k/ 'harvest season'

2. /e/ /sek/ 'wait'

3. /í:/ /kí:m/ 'pray'

4. /í/ /kím/ 'morning'

The long vowel

The long vowel is realised by two allophones in complementary distribution. In an open syllable, the long vowel surfaces in its full length, thus in its underlying form. In a closed syllable, however, the vowel is shortened to half its length, as in example 5 where the definite article seen in ex. 6 is absent to the noun:

/e:/

5. /se:k/ [sɛːk] 'harvest season'

6. /se:k-i:/ [sɛ:kɪ:] 'the harvest season'

harvest.season-DEF

as opposed to the short vowel phoneme where there is no such difference when the imperative suffix is added to the verb:

/e/

7. /sek/ [sek] 'wait'

8. /sek-a:/ [seka:] 'wait!'

wait-IMP

Since there are no univalent sequences of vowels, the long vowel is interpreted as one phoneme.

The short vowel

As seen, the short vowel is opposed to the long one in identical environments. However, in a prepausal position, the short vowel is normally followed by a non-phonemic glottal stop, which disappears in other positions, and which does not occur with long, prepausal vowels.

9. /beti/ [betɪʔ] 'a woman'

woman

10. /beti na ʔa:l-ci/ [betɪ na ʔaˈlciʔ] 'a woman and her husband'

woman with husband-REL(3sg)

This non-phonemic glottal stop can be compared with the phonemic one which remains unchanged in non-prepausal positions. A phonemic glottal stop is found word finally in the following example:

11. /boˈ/ [boʔ] 'people'

12. /boˈ na júːˈ/ [boʔ na ʔuˈʔ] 'people and animals'

people with animal(s)

1.1.3. Phonemic distribution of vowels

All vowels appear in the nucleus of both CVC and CV patterns, with the exception of CV syllables in word-final positions, where the following vowels are attested:

í	íi	ú	úu
i	ii	u	uu
e	ee		oo
	a	aa	

Thus, the [-high, +ATR] vowels and the short /o/ do not occur in this position. It needs to be said that word-final short /e/ is very rare. In our data it only occurs twice. It is possible that the short /o/ has existed, but that it has developed into /oh/ or /o:/. However, it is clear that the three other vowels, [-high, +ATR], have a status that set them apart from other vowels in the system. The phonemes [+ATR] /é, ó, ë/ and their long counterparts are only attested in two positions:

- as a result of regressive vowel harmony (examples 1 and 2), induced by a following [+ATR] vowel, both in roots and in derivations (see 1.3.9.)
- in loan words where a sound is perceived as that of a [+ATR] vowel (examples 3-6):

1. /pok/ + /-ís/ → /pókís/ 'detach'
attach REV

2. /neɓ/ + /-í'/ → /néwí'/ 'good'
be.good ADJ

French:

3. sœur 'sister' → /só:ri/ 'nun'

Wolof:

4. séen 'see, perceive' → /sé:n/ 'perceive'
5. wóor 'be sure' → /wë:/ or /wó:/ 'be sure'
6. gën 'be preferable' → /gën/ 'be preferable'

Since these vowels do not occur in monosyllabic roots, other than loan words, they can be interpreted as original allophones of their [-ATR] counterparts. But as a result of their increasing appearance in loan words, they must at present be regarded as separate phonemes. Thus, the original vowel system probably contained seven vowel phonemes, with three allophones produced by vowel harmony:

í	íi	ú	úu
i	ii	u	uu
e	ee	o	oo
	a	aa	

1.1.4. Feature matrix of vowels

The vowels may thus be distinguished by the following opposition features:

- vertical position:

close	[+ high]
mid-open	[-high, -low]
open	[+ low]

- horizontal position:

front	[-back]
back and central	[+ back]

- duration:

short	[-long]
long	[+ long]

- tongue root position:

unmarked position [-ATR]

advanced tongue root [+ATR]

The features can be diagrammed as follows:

	high	low	back	long	ATR
i	+	-	-	-	-
i:	+	-	-	+	-
í	+	-	-	-	+
í:	+	-	-	+	+
e	-	-	-	-	-
e:	-	-	-	+	-
é	-	-	-	-	+
é:	-	-	-	+	+
a	-	+	+	-	-
a:	-	+	+	+	-
ẽ	-	+	+	-	+
ẽ:	-	+	+	+	+
o	-	-	+	-	-
o:	-	-	+	+	-
ó	-	-	+	-	+
ó:	-	-	+	+	+
u	+	-	+	-	-
u:	+	-	+	+	-
ú	+	-	+	-	+
ú:	+	-	+	+	+

1.1.5. Consonant charts

The consonant system in Noon consists of 27 phonemes, presented in the diagram:

	labial	alveolar	palatal	post-palatal
plosives:				
voiceless	p	t	c	k
voiced	b	d	j	g
prenasalised	mb	nd	ñj	ŋg
glottalised	ɸ	ɗ	ỵ	ʔ
fricatives:				
	f	s		h
approximants:				
nasals	m	n	ɲ	ŋ
vibrants		r		
liquids		l		
glides	w		y	

The following consonant phonemes deviate from the IPA symbols:

Consonant phoneme	IPA symbol
/ʔ/	[ʔ]
/j/	[ɟ]
/ɲ/	[ɲ]
/ỵ/	[ɟ̣]
/y/	[j]
/mb/	[^m b]
/nd/	[ⁿ d]
/ɲj/	[ɲɟ]
/ŋg/	[^ŋ g]

1.1.6. Consonant length

Consonant length is distinctive in Noon, but rarely on morpheme level. The long consonants normally occur when a morpheme is added to a root, requiring a lengthening of the final consonant of the root (see Affixation patterns 1.3.1.). There are certain restrictions on which consonants may occur in this position. Consonants which do not geminate into a long consonant are described in 1.3.2. Thus, the long consonant normally appears in a syllable boundary, with the boundary between the consonants of the gemination. The long consonant is consequently interpreted as 2 phonemes.

1. /hot/ [hɔt] 'see' /hot-ti:/ [hɔt:i:] 'have not seen'
see-ASP.NEG

In a restricted number of words and loan words, there are long consonants within the root itself.

2. /rocci/ 'new palm wine'
3. /púccu/ 'ceiling'

In certain ideophones, a phonetic lengthening of the final consonant adds to the intensity of the speech:

4. een-da /cel/ [cel:] 'it was perfectly calm'
be.calm-NARR IDEO

5. yaanaaw-in /dúr/ [dúr:] 'it was dazzling white'
be.white-PERF IDEO

1.1.7. The implosives ɓ and ɗ

The phonemes ɓ and ɗ are realised by two allophones, respectively, that appear in complementary distribution. Thus, /ɓ/ is realised by [ɓ] and [wʔ], and /ɗ/ as [ɗ] and [jʔ].

In the syllable onset, they both appear as implosives, as in:

1. /ɓof/ [ɓɔf] 'bark'

2. /ɗah/ [ɗah] 'go'

but in the syllable coda - word-finally and word-internally - they surface as a glottalised approximant:

3. /liɓ/ [li:wʔ] 'be dirty'

4. /may-ti:/ [majʔtɪ:] 'has not suck'

suck-ASP.NEG

These phonemes, and the implosive /d/ will be further dealt with in Morphophonology (1.3.2.3.).

1.1.8. The glottal stop

The glottal stop phoneme functions as other plosives, with lengthening across the morpheme boundaries. It occurs in the syllable onset and coda, but as the initial phoneme of a word, it does not stand in contrast with a word-initial vowel since there are no vowel-initial words (see 1.4. Orthography). As mentioned, a non-phonemic glottal stop also follows short vowels in prepausal position (see 1.1.2. Vowel length).

1.1.9. Phonemic distribution of consonants

All consonants may appear in the syllable onset position of CVC and CV, but there are certain restrictions on the syllable coda position of the CVC pattern, concerning the following phonemes:

- The voiced plosives, /b/, /d/, /j/ and /g/, only occur in the syllable onset. In the coda, they are represented by homorganic nasals.

- The implosive /ɗ/ and the vibrant /r/ are both found only in the syllable onset, but they are in contrast only in word initial position. Word medially, the /r/ occurs intervocally and /ɗ/ following a consonant. In the syllable coda, /ɗ/ and /r/ are both represented by the glottal stop. The implosive /ɓ/ occurs in syllable onset and coda, with the exception of intervocalic positions, where it is replaced by the phoneme /w/ (see also Morphophonology 1.3.2.3.).

- The prenasalised plosives, /mb/, /nd/, /ñj/, /ŋg/, are relatively rare in the language, and they appear to a large extent in loan words. They occur in the syllable onset, mainly in word-initial position, but also word medially:

1. /mba:san/ 'yellow'
2. /ndam/ 'glory'
3. /ñjúli/ 'circumcised'
4. /gayndi/ 'lion'
5. /kúlmbús/ 'ant'

1.1.10. Feature matrix of consonants

The Noon consonants can also be classified by the following features:

point of articulation:

labial	[+ anterior, -coronal]
alveolar	[+ anterior, + coronal]
palatal	[-anterior, + coronal]
post-palatal	[-anterior, -coronal]

manner of articulation

plosive	[-sonorant, -continuant]
fricative	[-sonorant, +continuant]
nasal	[+sonorant, -continuant, +nasal]
lateral	[+sonorant, +continuant, +lateral]
glide, vibrant	[+sonorant, +continuant, -lateral]

These features concern all consonants. In addition, the plosives are classified according to the state of the vowel cords and the velic closure:

voiceless	[-voiced]
voiced	[+voiced, -nasal]
prenasalised	[+voiced, +nasal]
glottalised	[+constricted glottis]

Thus, the distinctions between the consonants could be presented as in the following matrix:

anter = anterior

coron = coronal

sonor = sonorant

contin = continuant

cons = consonantal

constr gl = constricted glottis

	anter	coron	sonor	contin	cons	nasal	lateral	voiced	constr gl
p	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
t	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
c	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
k	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
b	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-
d	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-
j	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-
g	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-
mb	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-
nd	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-
ñj	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-
ŋg	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-
ɓ	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+
ɗ	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+
y'	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+
ʼ	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
f	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
s	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
h	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
m	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	-
n	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-
ñ	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-
ŋ	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	-
l	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-
r	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-
w'*	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+
y'*	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+
w	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-
y	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-

*These two are allophones of /b/ and /d/ respectively, but they are given the feature distinction since they appear in the morphophonological rules (1.3.4.)

1.1.11. The syllable

The syllable is characterised by the syllable nucleus which is formed by a vowel phoneme, which may be long or short, but which is represented in this section by V only. This presents two types of syllable patterns; CV and CVC. The primary form is that of CVC which is the form of all monosyllabic verb and noun roots, and of the last syllable of all multisyllabic verb roots. The CV pattern is found forming a word primarily in pronouns and prepositions.

CVC

1. /ñam/ 'eat'
2. /ka:n/ 'die'
3. /lín/ 'cultivate'
4. /lí:f/ 'fill'
5. /wo'/ 'say'
6. /ko:'/ 'pass'
7. /dëk/ 'town'
8. /malak/ 'look'
9. /sukuruk/ 'listen'

CV

10. /mi/ 'I'
11. /yi:/ 's/he demonstrative'
12. /ya/ 'what?'
13. /ga/ 'in, at, to'

As can be deduced from the pattern above, there are no tautosyllabic vowel sequences, since the long vowel is interpreted as one phoneme, and since there are no diphthongs.

Nor are there any vowel sequences across the syllable boundary, since all syllables have a consonant in the onset position.

1.2. Suprasegmental phonology

1.2.1. The phonological word.

1.2.1.1. Stress

The phonological word is defined as a part of speech that carries primary stress. Stress is predictable and therefore does not need to be marked. Generally, the primary stress is assigned to the penultimate syllable of the word. The exception is the three-syllable word, where the first syllable receives the stress. In words with four syllables or more, there is an additional secondary stress on the first syllable.

Disyllabic words		Stress
1. /ha:wi/	'couscous'	'SS
2. /kodu:k/	'cry'	
Trisyllabic words		
3. /sukuruk/	'listen'	'SSS
4. /aba:fen/	'hair clip'	
5. /ka:na:ri:/	'the end'	
Multisyllabic words		
6. /hotubitel/	'eucalyptus'	,SS'SS
7. /kələmunga:/	'millipede'	,SS'SS
8. /turandimuni:	'the namesake'	,SSS'SS

Monosyllabic words are assigned their own stress. There are a few clitics that do not carry stress, such as

- the preposition

/ga/ 'in, at, to'

- the particles

/da/ 'relative marker'

/-e/ 'polar question marker'

- the conjunction:

/-aa/ 'irrealis subordinator'

1.2.1.2. Pitch

The phonological word is also defined by one syllable receiving high pitch. The occurrence of the high pitch is predictable and it falls on the penultimate syllable of the word.

- | | |
|------------------|------------------------|
| --- | --- |
| 1. /kedik/ | 'tree' |
| --- | --- |
| 2. /lëgísoh/ | 'disentangle, explain' |
| --- | --- |
| 3. /këwdí:ri:/ | 'the pot' |
| --- | --- |
| 4. /këmëŋkimun/ | 'younger sibling' |
| --- | --- |
| 5. /hotubiteli:/ | 'the eucalyptus' |

Consequently, in most cases high pitch coincides with the primary stress, except in trisyllabic words. Thus, pitch is more stable since it always falls on the same syllable.

1.2.1.3. Stress and pitch in suffixation

Normally, when a suffix is added to a root, the stress and pitch pattern will follow the rules described, and the suffix will attain the same status as other syllables in the word.

— ' — —	— — ' — —
1. /mi hot-ta:/ 'I see you'	/mi hot-in-daa/ 'I have seen you'
I see-OBJ(2sg)	I see-PERF-OBJ(2sg)

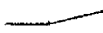
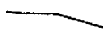




Contrarily, enclitic words that are suffixed to a word will not affect its stress and pitch pattern. The possessive pronoun, for example, is formed by the clitic ga and an object pronoun. Thus, even when these suffixes are disyllabic, they will influence the stress and pitch the same way as a monosyllabic suffix:

' — — —	— — — ' — —
2. /ñafa'-caa/ 'the shoes'	/ñafa'-caa-gaḁa/ 'their shoes'
shoes-DEF	shoes-DEF-POSS(3pl)
' — — —	' — — —
3. /wo'-ee-ḁa/ '(s/he) said to them'	/wo'-ee-ḁa ḁa/ '..that (s/he) said to them'
say-PAST-OBJ(3pl)	say-PAST-OBJ(3pl)-REL.M

1.2.2. The phonological phrase. Intonation patterns.


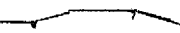
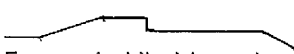
The phonological phrase in Noon can be defined as an utterance that comes between two pauses. Very generally, there are three basic intonation patterns in Noon which are contrasted at the beginning and the end of the phonological phrase. These are the most common patterns which often coincide with syntactic distinctions, but they also reflect the attitude of the speaker. The three patterns are:

beginning end of phonological phrase

- | | | |
|----|---|---|
| 1. |  |  |
| | low-rising | mid-falling |
| 2. |  |  |
| | high | low-rising |
| 3. |  |  |
| | mid-rising | mid-falling |

Pattern 1: statements, showing a certain or neuter attitude

This pattern is the neuter form, found in statements or answers to questions. It is also used in imperatives and yes-no questions which carry little insistence, or which are expressed politely. However, the more common intonation in these instances (imperative and questions) is pattern 3.

- | | | | |
|----|---|--------------------------|---|
| 1. |  | Mi hote:ri ga Ca:ña:k. | 'I saw him in Thiès.' |
| 2. |  | Ona:ro: músú. | 'Give me some water!' |
| 3. |  | Fu mosin kika' ka:ncine. | 'Have you already been to his/her house?' |

Pattern 2: uncertain attitude, expressing an incomplete idea

This is the most common pattern for content questions. Since the interrogative occurs in a clause final position, the rising intonation will fall on that word.



4. Fu yāh gada?

'Where are you going?'



5. lñi: la:kda ya?

'What is the matter?'

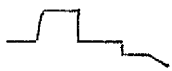
Pattern 3: uncertain, incomplete, expressing more insistence than pattern 1

This pattern is used mainly in imperatives and yes-no questions which carry more insistence and urge for a response, either in answer or in action. It differs from pattern 1 only in the starting point in the beginning of the clause (low or mid), and sometimes the difference may be very subtle. However, it may be the only way to distinguish some yes-no questions from statements since the particle -e, marking a polar question, may sometimes be omitted in rapid speech.



6. Fu ñamo: narí:ne?

'Aren't you going to eat with us?'



7. l:sat o:ma:ci:!

'Leave the children alone!'

These are the most common patterns but, naturally, there are several other ways to express emotion. One is the range between low and high pitch; the wider the range, the more expressive the speech. Naturally, many other intonation modifications exist, but they will not be treated in this description.

1.3. Morphophonology

1.3.1. Affixation patterns

Noon is an agglutinative language with suffixes as its main form of affixation. Prefixes are more rare, and no morphophonological changes take place at the addition of a prefix to a root¹. Suffixes, on the other hand, appear in derivations of nominals and verbals, in nominal inflections and verbal conjugations, with prepositions and also in the case of some clitics. Between the root and the suffix, as well as between the suffixes themselves, there are changes taking place, based on morphophonological conditions. The conditions are the following:

There are three types of suffixes, according to their structure:

-CV(C)

-RV(C)

-V(C)

The R denotes a consonant that can be described as a weak /r/ since it assimilates and geminates with the previous consonant, resulting in a consonant lengthening. When following a vowel, R surfaces as /r/.

The suffix may follow on two types of root-final syllables;

CVC

CV

or on another suffix which may create a stem-final open or closed syllable.

¹However, the addition of a prefix to a root will entail an orthographic marking of glottals in root-initial position, which would otherwise have been omitted (see 1.4.).

In combining these possibilities, we get the following basic suffixation patterns:

1. CVC + -CV → CVCCV
2. CVC + -RV → CVC:V
3. CVC + -V → CVCV
4. CV + -CV → CVCV
5. CV + -RV → CVrV
- 6a. CV + -V → CVnV
- 6b. CV(1) + -V(2) → CV(2)

Some examples of the above patterns:

1. CVC + -CV → CVCCV

This pattern is realised when suffixes like the definite /-fi:/ are added to a nominal stem:

/ka:n/ 'house' + /-fi:/ → /ka:nfi:/ 'the house (here)'

A verbal suffix of this kind is the 3pl objective suffix /-ʃa/ which, in the next example, is added to a verbal root²

/hot/ 'see' + /ʃa/ → /hotʃa/ 's/he sees them'

2. CVC + -RV → CVC:V

A suffix of this type is the 1sg possessive, /-Ro:/, which may follow a noun as:

/hunis/ 'friend' + /-Ro:/ → /hunisso:/ 'my friend'

²The absence of a subject pronoun normally indicates 3sg.

This type of consonant lengthening is much more common in the verbal forms, with, for example, the negative of the perfective aspect; /-Ri:/.

/ʼap/ 'kill' + /-Ri:/ → /ʼappi:/ 'he has not killed'

/hot/ 'see' + /-Ri:/ → /hotti:/ 'he has not seen'

3. CVC + -V → CVCV

The biggest noun class in Noon is marked as definite with a V, which in this case is /-i:/.

/hal/ 'door' + /-i:/ → /hali:/ 'the door'

In a verb, the perfective form is formed by the suffix /-in/, which added to a verb stem appears as:

/hot/ 'see' + /-in/ → /hotin/ 'he has seen'

Note that for some consonants the underlying phoneme may surface differently in word final and in intervocalic position (see 1.3.2.).

4. CV + -CV → CVCV

This and the following patterns exclude verb roots, since they all consist of CVC-patterns.

The definite noun class marker seen above, /-fi:/ is here added to a noun with a final CV:

/ʒeti/ 'woman' + /-fi:/ → /ʒetifi:/ 'the woman'

The suffix mentioned in pattern 1, /-ʒa/, is here added to the past suffix of a verb:

/hote:/ 'he saw' + /-ʒa/ → /hote:ʒa/ 'he saw them'

5. CV + -RV → CVrV

When the 1sg relational suffix /-Ro:/, seen in pattern 2, follows a vowel, it surfaces as /r/:

/βeti/ 'woman' + /-Ro:/ → /βetiro:/ 'my woman (wife)'

The same applies if the 3sg object marking suffix /-Ri/ is added to a verbal suffix such as the singular imperative /-a:/, as in:

/'ona:/ 'give!' + /Ri/ → /'ona:ri/ 'give him/her!'

or if the same suffix follows a preposition like /na/ 'with':

/na/ + /-Ri/ → /nari/ 'with him'

6a. CV + V → CVnV

An example of this pattern is when the nominal suffix /-i:/ is linked to a noun, with the insertion of /n/ as in:

/'o:ma:/ 'child' + /-i:/ → /'o:ma:ni:/ 'the child'

This nasal insertion is further dealt with in 1.3.3.

6b. CV(1) + V(2) → CV(2)

A second possible pattern when a V-suffix is added to an open syllable is the deletion of the final vowel. An example is when the nominal suffix /-i:/ is linked to a noun with the

result of a deletion of the final vowel of the noun. This occurs in many nouns with a short [+high] vowel, such as /ya'bu/ 'old woman':

/ya'bu/ 'old woman' + /i:/ → /ya'bi:/ 'the old woman'

1.3.2. Underlying and surface forms of consonants

As seen in the above patterns, a consonant can appear in four different positions:

- word initially, or in the syllable onset following a different consonant
- in the syllable onset, as consonant lengthening
- in the syllable onset, following a vowel
- in the syllable coda

In the first position, it is always the underlying form that appears, and as seen in the phonemic distribution, some phonemes only occur in this position. In the following three positions, some consonants are represented by other than the underlying form.

One single underlying and surface form is found in voiceless consonants and in approximants, except for the vibrant (which is originally an allophone of the implosive /d/):

p	f	l
t	s	w
c	h	y
k		
ʔ		

As presented below, these consonants are the same in both the syllable coda and the onset of the lengthened consonant. The lengthening is realised as a pure gemination of

the last consonant of the stem, where the second part of the gemination forms the onset of the suffix syllable.

A verb followed by the suffix marking the negative perfective form, /Ri:/, will thus appear as follows:

consonant	verb root		neg acc	
/p/	/'ap/	'kill'	/'appi:/	'he has not killed'
/t/	/hot/	'see'	/hotti:/	'he has not seen'
/c/	/'ac/	'dig'	/'acci:/	'he has not dug'
/k/	/fe:k/	'hit'	/fe:kki:/	'he has not hit'
/'/	/le'/	'touch'	/le''i:/	'he has not touched'
/f/	/haf/	'pour'	/haffi:/	'he has not poured'
/s/	/ʃas/	'insult'	/ʃassi:/	'he has not insulted'
/l/	/'al/	'forget'	/'alli:/	'he has not forgotten'
/h/	/yah/	'crush'	/yahhi:/	'he has not crushed'
/w/	/ga:w/	'hurry'	/ga:wwi:/	'he has not hurried'
/y/	/hay/	'come'	/hayyi:/	'he has not come'

Similarly, the consonants appear unchanged in the intervocalic position that arises as the suffix /-in/, perfective aspect, is added to the same verbs:

/'ap/	/'apin/	'he has killed'
/hot/	/hotin/	'he has seen'
/'ac/	/'acin/	'he has dug'
/fe:k/	/fe:kin/	'he has hit'
/le'/	/le'in/	'he has touched'
/haf/	/hafin/	'he has poured'
/ʃas/	/ʃasin/	'he has insulted'
/'al/	/'alin/	'he has forgotten'

/yah/	/yahin/	'he has crushed'
/ga:w/	/ga:win/	'he has hurried'
/hay/	/hayin/	'he has come'

The following consonants occur with different underlying and surface forms, and they are subject to morphophonological changes in one or more of the different positions seen above. The consonants can be grouped into voiced plosives, nasals, implosives and the vibrant.

b	m	ɓ	r
d	n	ɗ	
j	ɲ	ɣ	
g	ŋ		

The different consonant changes will be presented for each of these groups, with language examples, with references to the morphophonological rules that are presented in the end of this passage.

1.3.2.1. Voiced plosives

The voiced plosives appear in their underlying form in all syllable onsets:

#CV , CVC.CV , CV.CV

In the coda, however, both in word final position and in a consonant lengthening, they are changed into their homorganic nasal (rule 1a)³. In the following examples the same

³It is possible to interpret the voiced plosives as originally prenasalised, thus still carrying a nasal component which surfaces in certain positions only. We are currently investigating this theory in a comparative study of the phonological changes in the Cangin languages.

suffixes as above, /-in/ and /-Ri:/, are added to verbs with voiced plosives as the underlying form of the final consonant:

underlying form		- <u>C</u> #	- <u>VCV</u> -	- <u>VCRV</u>
1. /'ab/	'hold'	/'am/	/'abin/	/'ambi:/
2. /sod/	'be tired'	/son/	/sodin/	/sondi:/
3. /paj/	'marry'	/pañ/	/pajin/	/pañji:/
4. /lag/	'shut'	/laŋ/	/lagin/	/laŋgi:/

1.3.2.2. Nasals

The nasals /m/, /n/ and /ñ/ surface in their underlying form everywhere but in the onset of the syllable in consonant lengthening, where it is represented by its homorganic plosive (rule 2). The application of this change is shown in the following verbs, with the same suffixes as above:

underlying form		- <u>C</u> #	- <u>VCV</u> -	- <u>VCRV</u>
1. /ñam/	'eat'	/ñam/	/ñamin/	/ñambi:/
2. /'an/	'drink'	/'an/	/'anin/	/'andi:/
3. /ma:ñ/	'linger'	/ma:ñ/	/ma:ñin/	/ma:ñji:/

The velar nasal /ŋ/ occurs quite rarely in its underlying form, and only in word initial position, as in the noun:

4. /ŋa:m/ 'cheek'

However, as we have seen, it surfaces as the realisation of the plosive /g/ in the syllable coda (see 1.3.2.1.).

1.3.2.3. The implosives

The implosives /ɓ/, /ɗ/ and /ɣ/ occur in their underlying form in the syllable onset in word initial position as well as following another consonant.

In the syllable onset of the consonant lengthening, they are surfacing as /p/, /t/ and /c/, their homorganic voiceless counterparts (rule 2). In syllable onset in intervocalic position they are represented by the homorganic glides /w/ and /y/, and the vibrant /r/ (rule 4).

In the syllable coda position, the implosives /ɓ/ and /ɣ/ are represented by their homorganic glottalised glides, [wʔ] and [jʔ] (rule 1b), which have been described in segmental phonology as their allophones. In analogy with the former implosives, /ɗ/ is hypothetically presented by its homorganic glottalised vibrant *[rʔ] (rule 1b), but another rule follows upon this, deleting the vibrant component and leaving the glottal (rule 3). Thus in the coda position, /ɗ/ is represented by /ʔ/.

The changes of the implosives are shown in the examples:

underlying form	-C#	-VCV-	-VCRV
1. /ɓeɓ/ 'take'	/ɓeɓ/ [ɓɛwʔ]	/ɓewin/	/ɓeɓpi:/ [ɓɛwʔpi:]
2. /kaɗ/ 'leave'	/kaʔ/	/karin/	/ka'ti:/
3. /may/ 'suck'	/may/ [majʔ]	/mayin/	/may'ci:/ [majʔci:]

The underlying form in the syllable coda may appear in some cases of suffixation, when it comes to follow a different consonant. This happens specifically when a suffix is added to one of the verbal derivational suffixes, /-ɨd/ (transitivising) or /-ɨd/ (benefactive). At the suffixation, the vowel of the first suffix is deleted (see 1.3.5.), and the /ɗ/ comes to form the onset of a new syllable, as in the example:

underlying form

4. /tík/ 'cook' + /-id/ → /tíki/ 'cook for someone'

+ /-in/ → /tíkɗin/ 'has cooked for someone'

Another result of two suffixes being added, entailing a vowel deletion in the first suffix, is that /d/ can occur in the syllable coda followed by a consonant, and it will then be represented by /'/, as when the derivational suffix /-uk/ (reflexive), is added to a verb, followed by the perfective /-in/:

underlying form

5. /ko:d/ 'raise' + /-uk/ → /ko:ruk/ 'behave' + /-in/ → /ko:'kin/ 'is (well) behaved'

1.3.2.4. The vibrant

As seen above, /r/ functions as a realisation of the underlying /d/ in intervocalic position. The two phonemes are in contrast in word-initial position, but this contrast is probably of more recent date, since words with an initial /r/ are almost all quite obvious loan words.

1. [rɔ:sɪʔ] 'to water' (from French 'arroser')

2. [rɛʔ] 'dinner' (from Wolof 'reer')

The phoneme /r/ in loan words may also appear in other positions in the word, where it can be said to be the underlying form. However, here it will follow the same rules as /d/, and it will be realised as a glottal in the syllable coda, but as /r/ in intervocalic position.

This could be interpreted as a change in loan words from an underlying /r/ into an underlying /d/, except in word-initial position.

3. [liʔ] 'read' (French 'lire')

which surfaces as [r] intervocalically:

4. [li:rɪn] 'he has read'

5. [pɛːʔ] 'Pierre'

surfacing as [r] when suffixed by the polar question marker /-e/:

6. [pɛ:rɛ] 'Pierre?'

7. [rɛːʔ] 'dinner' (Wolof 'reer')

surfacing as [r] with the definite suffix /-i:/

8. [rɛ:ri:] 'the dinner'

Thus, there is a neutralisation of the original underlying contrast in the syllable coda between /d/ and /r/ (rule 3), but also between these and the phoneme /ʔ/, since all these phonemes are represented by /ʔ/ in this position. Thus, from the surface form of the syllable coda in the following examples, it is impossible to see whether the underlying form is /d/, /ʔ/ or /r/:

underlying form	<u>C</u> #	CVC <u>C</u>	CVC <u>R</u> V
9. /wa:d/ 'want'	/wa:ʔ/	/wa:rin/	/wa:'ti:/
10. /wo:/ 'say'	/woʔ/	/wo'in/	/wo''i:/
11. /lí:r/ 'read' (<French 'lire') /lí:/	/lí:ʔ/	/lí:rin/	/lí:'ti:/

1.3.3. Nasal insertion

In Noon, when two vowels come to be juxtaposed as a result of suffixation, the consonant /n/ is inserted between the vowels. This insertion occurs with all suffixes which consist of a V-syllable, namely on the following occasions:

- with the singular definite suffixes of noun class 1 /-i:/, /-um/, /a:/
- with the vocative suffix /-ó:/
- with the polar question marker /-e/
- with the subordinate irrealis marker /-aa/

When any of these suffixes is added to a word ending with a CV-syllable, there is a nasal inserted, which is absent whenever following a CVC-pattern. The definite and vocative suffixes are added to nouns and proper nouns respectively, whereas the polar question marker /-e/ and the subordinate irrealis marker /-aa/ are added to the clause final word, regardless of grammatical class or function:

1. /o:ma:/ 'child' + /-i:/ → /o:ma:ni:/ 'the child'

2. /Mati/ woman's name + /-ó:/ → /Matinó:/ 'Mati!'⁴

3. /fu hot -in Mati -e/ → /fu hotin Matine/ 'Have you seen Mati?'
 you see -PERF Mati -PQ

4. /fu an músú -a:/ → /fu an músúna:/ 'If/when you drink water,...'
 you drink water SUB

The reason not to interpret these suffixes as having an underlying nasal which is deleted following a consonant, is the existence of the suffix /-ne:/, a verbal derivation denoting a distal function of the verb, which appears with the nasal following a CVC-syllable:

5. /lom/ 'buy' + /ne:/ → /lomne:/ 'go and buy'
 buy DIST

Thus, there is internal evidence that such a consonant cluster is possible, which would make it difficult to explain why a nasal in the former four suffixes would not remain following CVC-syllables. In addition, the fact that some of these suffixes may be added

⁴With the suffixation of this morpheme, there are often two alternatives in the case of final CV-words with short [+high] vowels. The other option is that there may be a loss of the final short vowel, and the suffix is added to the previous consonant without nasal insertion: /Mati+ó:/ → /Mató:/.

to any clause-final word, reduces the possibility of there being an underlying /n/ in the preceding word.

1.3.4. Rules of the morphophonological changes

Here follow the rules that generalise the morphophonological changes that take place in the Noon consonant system:

Rules 1a and 1b describe the changes in the syllable coda.

Rule 2 accounts for the changes in the consonant lengthening processes.

Rule 3 describes the phoneme /r/. It is partly a modification of rule1b, but also an addition to the coda position changes.

Rule 4 presents the changes in intervocalic environment.

Rule 5 shows the consonant insertion accounted for in the suffixation patterns.

Rule 1a

$$\begin{bmatrix} - \text{sonor} \\ + \text{voiced} \\ - \text{glottis} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{matrix} + \text{sonor} \\ + \text{nasal} \end{matrix} / \text{ ___ }.$$

Rule 1b

$$\begin{bmatrix} - \text{sonor} \\ + \text{glottis} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow + \text{sonor} / \text{ ___ }.$$

Rule 2

$$r \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \text{sonor} \\ - \text{cont} \\ -\alpha \text{ voiced} \end{bmatrix} / \begin{bmatrix} - \text{cont} \\ + \text{voiced} \\ \alpha \text{ constr gl} \end{bmatrix} \text{ —}$$

Rule 3

$$\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ant} \\ + \text{coron} \\ + \text{sonor} \\ - \text{nasal} \\ - \text{lateral} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \text{ant} \\ - \text{coron} \\ - \text{sonor} \\ + \text{constr gl} \end{bmatrix} / \text{ —.}$$

Rule 4

$$\begin{bmatrix} - \text{sonor} \\ + \text{voiced} \\ + \text{constr gl} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} + \text{sonor} \\ + \text{cont} \\ - \text{lateral} \end{bmatrix} / \text{ V — V}$$

Rule 5

$$V \rightarrow nV / \text{ V —}$$

The consonantal changes taking place in Noon, could also be explained in terms of weakening and strengthening of consonants in certain environments. A presentation of this theory is found in A Dependency Phonology Account of Consonant Alternations in two West-Atlantic Languages (Bull et al., manuscript).

1.3.5. Vowel deletion in suffixation

There are three vowel deletion processes taking place in Noon; the first being general and applying to all situations; the second a tendency with certain exceptions, the third concerning one special suffix.

The first vowel deletion process regards all vowels that occur in a closed final syllable of a multisyllabic stem. When a suffix of VC-pattern is added, the preceding vowel is deleted. This can be accounted for by the fact that the CVC-pattern is the primary and preferred one.

CVCVC + -VC → CVCCVC

This deletion is especially apparent when two suffixes are added to a verb, where the first suffix loses its vowel nucleus:

verb root	suffix 1	suffix 2	→ /haysin/ 'he has come again'
1. /hay/	/-is/	/-in/	
'come'	REP	PERF	
2. /yo:s/	/-uk/	/-a:/	→ /yo:ska:/ 'come down!'
'bring down'	REFL	IMP	

The morphophonological rule for this deletion could be described as follows:

Rule 6

$$V \rightarrow \emptyset \quad / \quad VC \text{ ___ } C-V(C)$$

The second vowel deletion process concerns the short vowel of a final, open syllable of a noun root. First, it must be said that it is quite rare for roots to end in a short vowel,

and when they do, the final vowel is a closed one; /u/, /ú/, /i/ or /í/, with a few exceptions where there is the open short vowel /a/. When a suffix of V-pattern is added, the short vowel is deleted. In the following examples, the nouns are followed by the definite suffix of noun class 1 seen above, /-i:/:

- | | | | | |
|------------|--------------|---------|---|----------|
| 3. /ko:ni/ | 'palm fruit' | + /-i:/ | → | /ko:ni:/ |
| 4. /kë:ní/ | 'chili' | + /-i:/ | → | /kë:ní:/ |
| 5. /otu/ | 'car' | + /-i:/ | → | /oti:/ |
| 6. /ma:lu/ | 'rice' | + /-i:/ | → | /ma:li:/ |

It should be added that the vast majority of the words with a final short vowel are loan words, and that in these, the final vowel sometimes varies between these listed. For example, the root for 'car' may be given as /otu/ or /ota/. Another variation is that some words, when suffixed, may appear in two forms; with a vowel deletion or with a consonant insertion. Such a word is the noun /βeti/ 'woman'. When the polar question suffix /-e/ is added, the word may appear as:

7. /βete/ or /βetine/ 'a woman?'

However, in the majority of cases, the following rule would apply:

Rule 7

$$\begin{bmatrix} + \text{high} \\ - \text{long} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \quad \emptyset \quad / \quad \text{---V}$$

The third vowel deletion occurs in one single suffix; the verbal derivation /-ne:/ (distal). When a conjugational suffix is added after this suffix, the long vowel is deleted, and only the /n-/ stays to mark the suffix. This is seen, for example, when the imperative /a:/ is suffixed to a verb with this derivation:

8. /lom + -ne: + -a:/ → /lomna:/ 'go and buy!'

buy DIST IMP

1.3.6. Vowel assimilation in suffixation

The vowel assimilation that takes place in suffixation is limited to the combination of certain suffixes, and therefore the actual occurrences will be exemplified here, rather than giving a general rule. Most cases also represent variants where the assimilation may or may not take place. A general remark, though, is that only open [-ATR] vowels are involved in these processes. On the other hand, the vowel harmony which is described in the following section (1.3.7.) is a kind of assimilation, but there it is only the [ATR] feature that is involved.

The tendency seems to be for a vowel of a suffix with a -V pattern to influence the vowel of a preceding syllable, if they are both open and [-ATR]. It is most common for vowels of preceding suffixes, rather than roots, to be influenced, such as the suffix /-oh/ (5.2.6.). Assimilation happens for instance when suffixes such as /a:/ (IMP) or /e:/ (PAST) are added to words as in the following examples:

1. /tík -oh + -a:/ → /tíkaha:/ 'cook with..!'

cook INSTR IMP

2. /tík -oh + -e:/ → /tíkehe:/ 'cooked with..'

cook INSTR PAST

Some morphemes with a short /a/ are also affected by assimilation, when suffixed by the polar question marker /-e/. Here, the short /a/ assimilates with the following /-e/ and the product is a /-e:/. This happens with the referential suffix /-ma/, but most of all in interrogatives such as /ya/ 'what?', /gada/ 'where?' (where the final /-a/ is affected)

and /na/ 'how?' which on some occasions are suffixed by the polar question marker /-e/. This produces an "ungrammatical" combination since the question will be marked both as a content and a yes-no question. However, this is a common device to emphasise an interrogation.

3. /ya + -e/ → /ye:/ 'what?'
 what PQ

4. /ȳa:l-a:-ma-e/ → /ȳa:l-a:me:/ 'that man?'
 man-DEF-REF-PQ

1.3.7. Vowel harmony

The vowel harmony that exists in Noon can be said to operate on two levels: in word roots and in suffixation. The vowels of a root normally show vowel harmony in that they belong to either set of vowels; [+ATR] or [-ATR]. Where the root has [-ATR] vowels, these have an alternative [+ATR] form which occurs when vowel harmony is triggered by certain suffixes with underlying [+ATR] vowels. The vowels of suffixes are either [+ATR] or [-ATR], but no alternative forms exist since vowel harmony involve changes in the root only.

1.3.7.1. Vowel harmony in the word root

These are examples of multisyllabic roots with vowels from either set:

[+ATR]		[-ATR]	
/tímís/	'evening'	/kedik/	'tree'
/wúrú:s/	'gold'	/beti/	'woman'
/tëskín/	'heel'	/ʼo:ma:/	'child'

/súkúruk/	'listen'	/wati/	'today'
/së:gú:/	'shade'	/gumu:/	'hyena'
/cígídó:/	'panther'	/toho:/	'millet'

However, there are a some roots with vowels from both sets, but here we can see a distinct pattern: The [+ATR] vowel always precedes the [-ATR] vowel:

/kílo:k/	'bride'
/wí:no:/	'one'
/díka:nta:/	'between'
/dú:le:n/	'oil, fat'
/gúlfa:/	'flu'
/húla:y/	'bird (black)'

Any vowel in the root preceding the [+ATR] vowel would be influenced by it, and undergo a change into [+ATR]. This is particularly clearly seen in loan words, where a middle vowel is perceived as [+ATR]. This vowel will induce vowel harmony in the preceding vowel, whereas the following vowels are left unchanged. In the following examples, the vowels /i/ and /u/ in both Wolof and French are perceived as [+ATR]. In the first six examples, these vowels trigger a change in the preceding vowels, whereas examples 1 and 7 show that they will not affect a following vowel.

< Wolof:	1. alduna	'world'	→	/ëldúna/
	2. kaani	'chili'	→	/kë:ní/
	3. haalis	'money'	→	/hë:lís/
< French:	4. Eric		→	/ërík/ or /érik/
	5. Pauline		→	/pólín/ or /pëlin/
	6. bandit	'rascal'	→	/bëndí/
	7. toubab	'white man'	→	/túwa:b/

As seen in examples 4 and 5, when the vowel harmony involves [-high] vowels, there is a centralising tendency in the [+ATR] set where the central [+ATR] vowel, /ë/ often replaces the back or front vowels, or exists as an alternative form:

[-ATR]		[+ATR]
e	-	é/ë
a	-	ë
o	-	ó/ë

From these observations, we can presume that vowel harmony is a productive process which operates in a regressive direction in the word. This hypothesis will be further validated by the fact how vowel harmony functions in suffixation.

1.3.7.2. Vowel harmony in suffixation

Most suffixes in Noon have a [-ATR] vowel, but there are a few with an underlying [+ATR] vowel. These are the verbal derivational suffixes:

-ís	'reversive'
-í' (<-íd)	'transitiviser'
-í'	'adjectiviser'

and the bound object pronouns:

-rí:	'1pl excl'
-rú:	'2pl'

When the verbal derivational suffixes are linked to roots, they will induce vowel harmony in those with [-ATR] vowels, as in the examples:

-ís 'reversive'

- | | | | |
|-----------|-------------------|----------|------------------------|
| 1. /laŋ/ | 'close' | /lëgís/ | 'open' |
| 2. /la:ŋ/ | 'put on the fire' | /lë:gís/ | 'remove from the fire' |

-í' (< - + íd) 'transitiviser'

- | | | | |
|----------|---------|---------|--------------------|
| 3. /jaŋ/ | 'learn' | /jëgí'/ | 'teach' |
| 4. /ñam/ | 'eat' | /ñëmí'/ | 'feed' |
| 5. /lom/ | 'buy' | /lómí'/ | 'buy for somebody' |

-í' 'adjectiviser'

- | | | | |
|----------|----------------|-----------|-------------|
| 6. /mo'/ | 'be beautiful' | /wimóri'/ | 'beautiful' |
| 7. /set/ | 'be clean' | /wisetí'/ | 'clean' |

On one occasion is the root not affected by these suffixes; if the root contains a high [-ATR] vowel, this will not change, nor will it affect the other vowels in the stem. These vowels can thus be said to be neutral to the process of vowel harmony.

- | | | | |
|-----------|-------------|----------|---------------------------|
| 8. /ni:k/ | 'be afraid' | /ni:kí'/ | 'scare' |
| 9. /yuŋ/ | 'sit' | /yugí'/ | 'place, sit (transitive)' |

In the stem, these verbal derivations all occur closest to the root, and since vowel harmony is regressive, it will only affect the root. On the other hand, a [+ATR] vowel that affects a root, will not influence a prefix, or the [+ATR] feature of a root will not affect a prefix. The only verbal prefixes that exist in Noon are conjugational. Consequently, vowel harmony produced by verbal derivations can be said to operate within the stem only. However, the known prefixes contain only high vowels that are not elsewhere affected by the VH anyway.

10. /ki-lí:ḡ/ 'to be dirty'

INF-be.dirty

11. /ki-jëg-í'/ 'to teach'

INF-learn-TRANS

The [+ATR] bound object pronouns will not affect the root when suffixed to a verb.

Here, the object pronoun occurs as the last suffix within the verb word, after conjugational suffixes. Nor will these object pronoun affect other suffixes.

12. /mi hot-in-dú: (<-rú:)/ 'I have seen you (pl).'

I see-PERF-OBJ(2pl)

13. /amdoh-a:-rí:/ 'Help us!'

help-IMP-OBJ(1pl.EXCL)

If there are two object pronoun suffixes, they are not affected by the vowel harmony process, even if a [-ATR] pronoun may precede [+ATR] vowels:

14. /mi te:ḡ-pi(<-ri)-rú:/ 'I show you to him/her.'

I show-OBJ(3sg)-OBJ(2pl)

However, when the pronouns are suffixed to a clitic, they trigger vowel harmony in the word. There are two proclitic particles in Noon, the prepositions na 'with' and ga 'to, at' (see 1.2.1.). Here, no other suffixes may intervene between the root and the object, and thus the situation is comparable to that of the verbal derivations.

-rí: '1pl excl'

15. /gërí:/ (<ga-ríi) 'to us'

-rú: '2pl'

16. /nërú:/ (<na-rú:) 'with you'

As a conclusion from these different types of suffixation, vowel harmony in Noon can be described as regressive and functioning within the stem. The hypothesis that VH is restricted to the stem is also supported by the fact that compound nouns are not affected by VH.

1.4. Orthography

In this chapter, examples have been written in a phonological interpretation. In the following chapters, the proposed orthography will be used, which will entail the following differences:

- A long vowel is represented by two vowels: /i:/ is written as ii
- Diacritics marking the feature [ATR] are marked on the first vowel: /ú:/ is written as úú
- The glottal stop is marked in the orthography, except in word initial position where it is omitted to avoid redundancy, since there is no contrast with vowel initial words. The glottal stop is marked, however, in intervocalic syllable boundaries in a word to distinguish from long vowels, as when the infinitive prefix precedes the root:

- | | | | |
|---------------|-----------------|-------------|----------|
| 1. /'iña:n/ | 'jealous' | written as: | iñaan |
| 2. /ki'iña:n/ | 'to be jealous' | " | ki'iñaan |
| 3. /'i:li:/ | 'humid' | " | ĩlii' |

4. /ki'i:li:/ 'to be humid' " ki'iili'i'

5. /'an/ 'drink' " an

6. /ki'an/ 'to drink' " ki'an

In example 8, the derivational prefix /ku-/ 'diminutive', precedes the noun /'o:ma:/ 'child':

7. /'o:ma:/ 'child' " oomaa

8. /ku'o:ma:/ 'small child' " ku'oomaa

2. NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

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 - 2.3.3.1.2. Ordinal and distributive nominals
 - 2.3.3.2. Agreement
 - 2.3.3.3. Non-numeral quantifiers
- 2.3.4. Interrogatives

2.4. Pronouns

- 2.4.1. Agreement pronouns
 - 2.4.1.1. Substitutive pronouns
 - 2.4.1.2. Appropriative pronouns
 - 2.4.1.3. Determining pronouns
 - 2.4.1.4. Emphatic pronouns
- 2.4.2. Non-agreement pronouns
 - 2.4.2.1. Allocutive pronouns
 - 2.4.2.2. Indefinite pronouns
 - 2.4.2.3. Relative pronouns

2.4.2.4. Negative pronouns
 2.4.2.5. Interrogative pronouns
 2.4.3. Bound pronouns

Noon is a noun class language, where all the determiners of the noun (except non-numeral quantifiers), or pronouns referring to the noun, bear a noun class marker. However, most of the nouns themselves do not normally take this prefix, but the noun class is apparent only in the definite suffix of the noun. Agreement between the nominals with respect to noun class is essential, and therefore I give an overview of the noun class system and the agreement system, before the details are treated in the description of each group of nominals. The nominals in Noon can be divided into nouns, determiners and pronouns. In the following chapter, the morphology of these classes will be described; the roots and inflectional affixes of all nominals, and the derivational affixes of the nouns.

2.1. The noun class system

All nouns in Noon belong to one of 6 classes which have separate forms in the singular, and are represented by 2 plural forms. The different classes are distinguished and named by the noun class marker, realised by a consonant, except in class 1 which is distinguished by its lack of marker. The classes can thus be described by their consonant marker:

		sg	pl
class	1	Ø	c
	2	f	c
	3	m	c

4	k	t
5	p	t
6	j	t

Class affiliation is not always visible in the noun itself, but it appears as the initial part of the definite suffix. For classes 3-6, however, the initial consonant of the noun itself is identical with the noun class marker consonant:

sg		indefinite form	definite form
class 1	Ø	waas 'road'	waas-aa
	2 f	kaan 'house'	kaan-faa
	3 m	mesip 'sauce'	mesip-maa
	4 k	kedik 'tree'	kedik-kaa
	5 p	pēlkít 'thread'	pēlkít-paa
	6 j	jokon 'finger'	jokon-jaa

As seen, class 1 has a zero class marker which, according to the morphophonological rule 5 described in 1.3.4., will be replaced by an epenthetic nasal, -n-, when a vowel occurs in root final position of the noun. This is in order to avoid a sequence of vowels (see 1.3.3. on Nasal insertion). In some nouns, the final short vowel is deleted and the definite suffix added to the resulting final consonant (see 1.3.5.).

The word-initial agreement seen in the singular in classes 3-6, is also present in the plural of classes 4-6, which entails an alternation of the initial consonant in the nouns of these classes:

pl		indefinite form	definite form
class	1	waas 'roads'	waas-caa
	2	kaan 'houses'	kaan-caa
	3	mesip 'sauces'	mesip-caa
	4	tedik 'trees'	tedik-taa
	5	tëlkít 'threads'	tëlkít-taa
	6	tokon 'fingers'	tokon-taa

2.1.1. Noun classes

The basis for the division of the nouns into these classes is to some extent semantic, but in many cases class membership is unpredictable. A few observations can be made:

Class 1 is the largest and most productive one, since most of the loan words are put in this category. This class contains many of the animate nouns. Wherever a noun and a verb share a root form, the noun belongs to this class.

1. atoh 'stone'
2. bíŋ 'back'
3. bíis 'sugar cane'
4. boh 'baobab'
5. caka' 'roof'
6. doon 'calf'
7. eŋ 'swing'
8. fiil 'young man'
9. gúl 'hole'
10. haf 'head'
11. hal 'door'
12. jípíl 'knife'
13. kím 'morning'

14. kop	'palm wine'
15. kooh	'god'
16. oomaa	'child'
17. sareet	'carriage'
18. y'aal	'man'
19. y'eek	'song'

Class 2 is the second most common, but it is less productive. A few loan words are found in this class, such as këyít 'book' (French: cahier), but otherwise it is closed to new words. Apart from the fact that most nouns for animals are found in this class, no other prediction can be made. Some animate nouns, other than those denoting animals, also occur in this class, such as beti 'woman'.

1. baay	'dog'
2. beti	'woman'
3. bín	'mouse'
4. cëwuu	'fly'
5. cuunoh	'lunch'
6. dúun	'ant'
7. enoh	'cow'
8. faan	'body'
9. fen	'hair'
10. kalaß	'sword'
11. kaan	'house'
12. këyít	'book(let)'
13. pabu	'hen'
14. paamay	'maize'
15. piim	'sorghum'
16. sel	'bird'

Class 3 is a small class that consists solely of mass nouns, especially liquids (water, milk, sauce), but also dry products with such small particles that they aren't distinguished in a singular form. The plural of this class is rarely used, but it may denote several sorts of the mass noun. Class 3 is productive in that it may contain the product of a nominalisation, where the derivational prefix mi- is used to nominalise a verb, with the purpose of denoting a liquid. An example is sook 'urinate' that is nominalised in misook 'urine', which belongs to class 3. There are no animate nouns in this class.

- | | |
|----------|----------|
| 1. mesip | 'sauce' |
| 2. músú | 'water' |
| 3. miis | 'milk' |
| 4. mëpúy | 'pus' |
| 5. muluy | 'sap' |
| 6. múun | 'powder' |
| 7. maraa | 'salt' |

Class 4 has no specific semantic feature, except in the use of the derivational prefixes ki- and ku-, which can be described semantically as communal and diminutive respectively (see 2.2.4. on Derivational affixes). Furthermore, these prefixes are the only means to make the class productive. The inflectional prefix ki-, appearing as the mark of infinitive, also has the effect of turning the verb into a class 4 noun, when it functions as the head of a NP. Class 4 contains several animate nouns.

- | | |
|-----------|---------------------|
| 1. kanu | 'calabash' |
| 2. kedik | 'tree' |
| 3. kelif | 'grease' |
| 4. këelúu | 'grass snake' |
| 5. kiwii | 'fire' |
| 6. kowu | 'child' |
| 7. koynoh | 'meat' |
| 8. koof | 'protective spirit' |

- | | |
|-----------|-----------------|
| 9. koonaa | 'throat, voice' |
| 10. kumun | 'nose' |
| 11. kúl | 'land' |

Class 5 is a very small and closed class which is partly based on semantic features in that most nouns of this class express plants or parts of them, grains and seeds. An exception is pewiñ 'iron', which could be explained by the analogy to pëlkít 'thread', since the main use of pewiñ is for 'iron wire', and from there it has developed to contain all objects made of iron. The nouns of this class occur more often in their plural form, as mass nouns. No animate nouns are found in this class.

- | | |
|-----------|--------------------------|
| 1. pesoh | 'seed, grain' |
| 2. pewiñ | 'iron' |
| 3. pee' | 'main vein of palm leaf' |
| 4. pëlkít | 'thread' |
| 5. pëwúu | 'part of palm leaf' |
| 6. písíl | 'small vein of leaf' |
| 7. pohoo | 'millet' |
| 8. puuḅ | 'leaf (general)' |

Finally, class 6 is also a closed, very small group of nouns, which has a general diminutive semantic feature. The nouns of this class describe a smaller variant of another, similar word, or just a relatively small phenomenon, such as:

- | | | | |
|----------|------------------|-------|------------|
| 1. janu | 'small calabash' | kanu | 'calabash' |
| 2. jataa | 'small pot' | kataa | 'pot' |
| 3. júlúŋ | 'small flask' | kúlúŋ | 'flask' |
| 4. joko' | 'small pestle' | ko' | 'pestle' |
| 5. jowu | 'young girl' (< | kowu | 'child'?) |
| 6. jokon | 'finger' | | |

In the first 4 examples, the j-class functions as a diminutive through initial consonant alternation or through the prefix jo-, as in example 4. In examples 5 and 6, however, there is no such corresponding word, but only a resemblance to the word kowu 'child' in example 5. Unlike the diminutive prefix ku-, mentioned in connection with class 4, the diminutive aspect of this class is not productive.

2.1.2. Agreement

There is agreement between the noun, its determiners and its referring pronouns with respect to the noun class. However, there are some occasions when other, semantic distinctions may overrule noun class affiliation. To account for this, we can distinguish between two different markers: noun class marker and agreement marker. Among the agreement markers, there is a locative distinction, but since it has a more restricted use than the others, it will be treated separately.

2.1.2.1. The noun class marker

The noun class marker refers to the one of the 6 noun classes to which the noun in question belongs, as presented above (2.1.1.). This marker occurs in the noun itself only, in the definite suffix.

2.1.2.2. The agreement marker

Almost all determiners, and a large part of the pronouns are in agreement with the determined noun, and to a large extent they bear the same noun class marking consonants as the definite suffix of the noun. However, there are several occasions where the initial consonant of a determining affix differs from the one of the definite suffix of the noun. It would be more appropriate to call these agreement markers since, in addition to merely marking the noun class of the determined noun, they also show

agreement with certain semantic aspects of the noun, primarily the animate and diminutive distinctions. There are the following differences between the noun class marker and the agreement marker:

a) Class 1, which has a \emptyset marker in the noun, is marked by w- in the affixes of the determining components, both in prefixes and suffixes.

b) In addition to the 6 noun classes with their 2 plural forms, the determiners make a distinction between animate and inanimate which normally overrules the noun class affiliation. The consonants marking the animate distinction are y- for the singular and ḡ- for the plural. As seen, animate nouns occur in classes 1,2,4 and 6, and take the noun class markers of their respective classes, but consequently, their determiners normally take the animate agreement marker, irrespective of the original noun class. Example of animate nouns and their definite suffixes:

		indefinite form	definite form
class	1	y'aal 'man'	y'aal-aa
	2	ḡeti 'woman'	ḡeti-faa
	4	kílook 'bride'	kílook-kaa

These nouns are consequently all represented by the 3p pronouns ya(sg)/ḡa(pl), although their definite suffixes all contain their respective class markers. In certain cases, there is a choice between the proper noun class marker and the animate agreement marker in determining or representing the noun. This concerns more the nouns of classes 2 and 4, and especially the animals. For the animals, the choice represents the semantic function of the animal in the discourse. The situation decides if the animal is seen as personalised (e.g. in animal-based fables) or as a mere object.

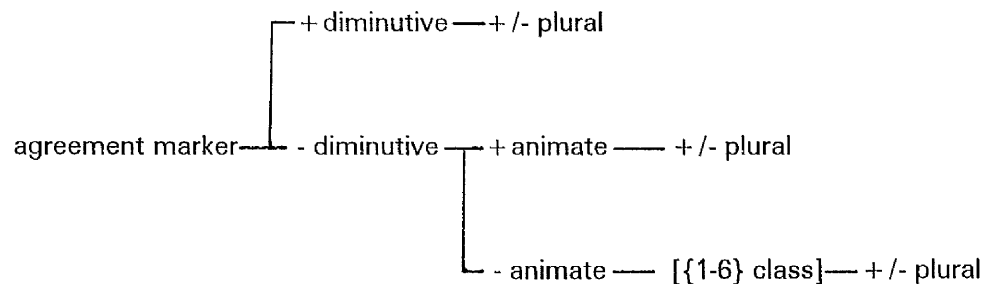
c) The diminutive aspect operates in the nouns of class 6, and the nouns in class 4 that bear the diminutive prefix ku-. Since class 6 is a semantically based, diminutive class, it

is logical that the noun class marker of this class, j-, should function as an agreement marker for other diminutive nouns as well. Thus, the agreement marker for the determiners of the nouns of class 4 with the diminutive prefix, is j-. In these nouns, the diminutive aspect overrules both the noun class and the animate distinction. Consequently, nouns like kowu 'child' (which is the root of the prefix ku-) and ku'ooma 'small child' are referred to by the pronoun ja, and not ya [+animate] or ka (its noun class - 4).

This gives us the following range of agreement marking consonants for the affixes of determiners and pronouns:

	-animate		+animate		+diminutive + /-animate	
class	sing	plural	sing	plural	sing	plural
1 Ø	w-	c-	y-	ɓ-		
2 f	f-	c-	y-	ɓ-		
3 m	m-	c-	-	-		
4 k	k-	t-	y-	ɓ-	j-	t-
5 p	p-	t-	-	-		
6 j	j-	t-	y-	ɓ-	j-	t-

The choice of agreement marker can be schematised as follows:



2.1.2.3. The locative distinction

In the agreement system, there is also a locative distinction, which has a more restricted influence. The locative agreement marker is d-, and it occurs in the demonstratives, the substitutive, incremental and relative pronouns. Wherever they occur, they replace a NP in a locative adjunct, or, for the relative pronoun, NPs in all adjuncts (locative, temporal and manner adjuncts). In addition, the locative marker is found in the derivational prefix di- occurring with verbs, signifying the place of the action (see 2.2.2.). Another interesting feature is that some nouns with a locative meaning have a d- word initially:

dëk	'village, country'
dút	'place'
dútút	'dark place'

These noun all belong to class 1, but it is possible that once there was a small noun class d with a locative feature, which has survived only in the agreement markers of the mentioned pronouns, and in the derivational locative prefix di- and its definite form -daa (see 2.2.2.).

2.2. Nouns

The noun functions as the head of the NP. It may have a noun root as its core, or a verb root which is accompanied by a nominalising affix. In compound nouns, two roots are linked together in one noun. Below, the different components of the noun will be described; root, derivational and inflectional affixes, followed by a summary schema of the noun structure.

2.2.1. Nouns with a noun root

As seen above, every noun belongs to one of 6 noun classes, which is normally not deducible from the form of the root but from its definite suffix, and sometimes from its semantic features. In addition to these noun classes, we can divide all nouns into three subclasses, on the basis of their internal structure, where subclass 1 is the common noun, and subclasses 2 and 3 contain the nouns that are deviating in their structures:

subclass 1	common nouns, relational nouns in the plural
subclass 2	relational nouns in the singular
subclass 3	proper nouns

Relational nouns

Subclass 2 consists of singular nouns expressing close relations to a person, thus creating inalienable entities. The morphology of these nouns differ from the common nouns in that they do not take the possessive suffixes, to express a notion such as 'my mother', but a separate set of relational suffixes. To a large extent, this subclass consists of animate nouns denoting kin-relations or other relations, but also of inanimate objects that are more than mere possessions and to which the person in question is related. Note that body-parts are not part of this group, but they belong to common nouns. Most of the animate nouns of this subgroup belong to a set of nouns that bear the suffix -mun (-un where the final consonant of the noun is a -m), but there are also nouns that may have two connotations; one more general and one relational. When expressing a relational notion they fall into this subgroup. An example is beti (ex.14) which has the general meaning of 'woman', but when expressing the relational notion of 'wife', it belongs to this group. The nouns of subclass 2 belong to either noun class 1 or 2, but the nouns with the suffix -mun, which all belong to this subclass, are all part of noun class 1. These are some examples of relational nouns of subclass 2:

1. eewmun	'mother'
2. paamun	'father'
3. kēmēṅkímun	'younger sibling'
4. yaakmun	'older sibling'
5. caasamun	'grand parent'
6. lagoomun	'cousin'
7. taanamun	'uncle'
8. bajeenmun	'aunt'
9. ha'mun	'owner'
10. húnísmun	'friend'
11. mooromun	'peer'
12. túrandimun	'namesake'
13. y'aal	'husband'
14. βeti	'wife'
15. βukaan	'family' (always in the plural)

Inanimate nouns of the same subgroup are for example:

16. kaan	'compound'
17. hal	'house(group)'
18. túuy'	'room, hut'
19. haf	'self/head'

The suffix -mun, in the example 1-12 above, remains in the definite form followed by the definite suffix, but it disappears in the singular when the relational suffix is added, or in a genitive construction of two nouns (see 2.2.5.5. and 3.2.1.2.):

20. paamun	'father'
21. paamun-aa	'the father'
22. paam-boo	'my father'
23. paam Kuli	'the father of Kuli'

The inanimate nouns, examples 16-18, all denote an area, but when functioning as relational nouns, they all signify the people included in that location. The noun haf 'self/head' belongs to the primary nouns of subclass 1 whenever it signifies the physical head. When part of subclass 2, it has a function similar to the reflexive. It occurs as the object (direct or indirect) of a clause, where it emphasises the subject of the same clause. It may also denote the notion of 'independence'.

24. Mi hayd-in haf-foo. 'I came myself.'

I bring-PERF head-REL(1sg)

25. Mi tik-d-in haf-foo maal-aa. 'I cooked the rice for myself.'

I cook-BEN-PERF head-REL(1sg) rice-DEF

26. Ga 1962 Senegal laak-ee haf-ci. 'In 1962, Senegal had its independence.'

In 1962 Senegal have-PAST head-REL(3sg)'

Subclass 3, the proper nouns, differ in their structure in that they do not take any of the affixes that occur with the other nouns, derivational or inflectional. However, [+animate] proper nouns do take a vocative suffix, -óo (2.2.5.7.). Examples of proper nouns:

First names:

Maalik	Hëri
Guu'	Nogay

Family Names:

Tin	Joon
Jóoɓ	Fay

Geographical names:

Caañaak	(town of Thiès)
Caali	(village of Thialy)
Paay	(river around Thiès)
Yúul	"
Aan	"
Loy-baayaa	(mountain in area of Fandène)

A different case is the reduplication of a family name, which may take the derivational prefix ki- (see 2.2.4.) to form a communal noun.

It is possible for certain nouns of the other groups to be used as proper nouns in direct address, and here these nouns may also take the vocative suffix. Examples are:

yiiya	'mother'	in the vocative:	yiiy-óo!
kílook	'fiancée'	"	kílook-óo!

2.2.2. Nouns with a verb root

There is a considerable group of nouns and verbs that share the same root form, in which case, as mentioned (p. 78), the noun will always belong to noun class 1. These cases are probably original verbs that have undergone a class conversion and now appear as noun roots. Thus here, these nouns are not considered as verb roots functioning as nouns, but as simple noun roots with a shared root form.

A verb root can be the base of a noun stem when a nominalising affix is added. These nominalising affixes can be distinguished as more or less productive, and, to a large extent, the choice between them belongs to the lexical description. Therefore, it is not possible to give a complete account of the nominalised verbs in the grammar, only to exemplify the use of the different affixes and their respective semantic features. These are the affixes that operate with a verb root, together with the noun class of the derived

noun:

affix	semantic feature	noun class of derived noun
-ah	object of action	1
-een	result of action	1
mi-	liquid result	3
-oh	agent	1
ki-	action	4
-laat	abstract form of stative verb	1
-aa'	place of action	1
-aa' + di-	place of action	1

In some cases, the suffix -ah is used with a verb to denote the object of the action, as in

1. ñam 'eat' ñam-ah 'food'
2. an 'drink' an-ah 'beverage'

In a restricted number of verbs, the suffix -een is used to represent the result of the action, as in:

3. wo' 'speak' wo'-een 'word'
4. tum 'do' tum-een 'deed'

As seen above (2.1.1.), the prefix mi- is used in a few cases to describe the liquid resulting from an action:

5. sook 'urinate' mi-sook 'urine'
6. toos 'cough' mi-toos 'phlegm'

The suffix -oh denotes the agent of the action, either in the immediate action or as a habitual action (profession). This suffix has high productivity. It is most commonly used

with verbs of concrete action, but it is theoretically possible to add to almost any verb in specific situations.

- | | | | |
|------------------|-------------|---------|----------------------|
| 7. ñam | 'eat' | ñam-oh | 'eater' |
| 8. tíin (< tíid) | 'walk' | tíid-oh | 'walker' |
| 9. lín | 'cultivate' | lín-oh | 'cultivator, farmer' |

The prefix ki- is actually the infinitive marker of the verb, which in some cases functions as a nominaliser when the infinitive is the head of a NP. The main significance is that of the action itself, as in:

- | | | | |
|---------|---------|--------|--------------------------|
| 10. ñam | 'eat' | ki-ñam | 'the action of eating' |
| 11. wo' | 'speak' | ki-wo' | 'the action of speaking' |

The suffix -laat is used with certain stative verbs to denote their nominalisation into an abstract form, as in:

- | | | | |
|----------|-----------|-----------|------------|
| 12. neḅ | 'be good' | neḅ-laāt | 'goodness' |
| 13. hoo' | 'be tall' | hoo'-laāt | 'tallness' |

The suffix -aa' is used with some verbs to denote the place where an action is habitually performed.

- | | | | |
|----------|----------|---------|-------------------|
| 14. tík | 'cook' | tíkaa' | 'place to cook' |
| 15. ḅook | 'shower' | ḅookaa' | 'place to shower' |
| 16. yuŋ | 'sit' | yugaa' | 'place to sit' |

The locative prefix di- is used in combination with the former suffix -aa' in a number of verbs, with the same meaning. The difference between the verb taking one or both affixes is lexical. An interesting detail is that the nouns derived with this prefix take a definite suffix which has the agreement marker d-. This is the only occasion where the locative distinction is found in the definite form.

17. sarah	'sacrifice'	di-sarah-aa'-daa	'the place of sacrifice'
18. ñam	'eat'	di-ñam-aa'-daa	'the place to eat'
19. neeh	'sleep'	di-neeh-aa'-daa	'the place to sleep'

2.2.3. Compound nouns

Compound nouns consist of two nouns or a noun and a verb. The interpretation of these two elements (two nouns, or noun and verb) as one compound noun is based on the fact that there are no suffixes added after the first noun, but the definite and other suffixes follow after the whole compound. Where the compound consists of two noun roots, it resembles the genitive construction of the noun phrase in that the first noun is the head and the second is the attributive noun. In analogy, the noun class of the compound noun is always that of the head noun of the compound. The relation of the attributive noun to the head noun may be that of description, origin or material (see also Genitive construction 3.2.1.)

	<u>noun class</u>	<u>indefinite form</u>		<u>definite form</u>	<u>type of relation</u>
1.	4 (k)	kipii	'ring'	kipii-kaa	material
	1 (Ø)	wuruus	'gold'	wuruus-aa	
	4	kipii-wuruus	'gold ring'	kipii-wuruus-aa	
2.	1	on	'skin'	on-aa	origin
	2 (f)	enoh	'cow'	enoh-faa	
	1	on-enoh	'cow skin'	on-enoh-aa	
3.	1	sareet	'cart'	sareet-aa	description
	2	pënís	'horse'	pënís-faa	
	1	sareet-pënís	'horse cart'	sareet-pënís-aa	

Some compound nouns have a non-decompositional meaning, not easily detected from the meaning of the two elements, as in the example:

4.	2	cóoni	'soul'	cóoni-faa
	2	enoh	'cow'	enoh-faa
	2	cóoni-enoh	'butterfly'	cóoni-enoh-faa

When the compound consists of a verb and a noun, the noun always precedes the verb, and the compound noun takes the noun class 1, as in:

5.	haf	'head'	mesik	'hurt'	→	haf-mesik	'headache'
6.	keeñ	'liver'	tam	'be hot'	→	keeñ-tam	'anger'
7.	ñiin	'moon'	kaan	'die'	→	ñiin-kaan	'end of month'
8.	look	'stomach'	núp	'fly, run'	→	look-núp	'diarrhoea'

2.2.4. Derivational affixes

Apart from the nominalising derivational affixes that are added to verb root, described above in 2.2.2., there are four derivational affixes, all prefixes, that operate on the noun:

ku-	diminutive
ki-	inanimate communal
bu-	animate communal
bi-	personal communal

Diminutive ku-

The prefix ku-¹ expresses the diminutive form of an object, quite often the offspring of animals or plants. A confusing factor is that ku- has an alternative form, ki-, which is used identically with ku-, although ku- is the most common. This alternate form must be distinguished from its homonym, the 'communal' ki- (see below). The diminutive ku- is very productive, and it can be prefixed to a large number of noun stems. The derived diminutive noun belongs to noun class 4.

1. baay	'dog'	ku-baay	'puppy'
2. doo'	'stick'	ku-doo'	'small stick'
3. júlúnj	'small flask'	ku-júlúnj	'very small flask'
4. oomaa	'child'	ku-'oomaa	'small child'
5. ñamoh	'eater'	ku-ñamoh	'small eater'
6. maalu	'rice'	ku-maalu	'grain of rice'

As mentioned in describing the noun class system, nouns of grains and seeds normally belong to noun class 5 with the singular form expressing the single grain, and the plural the mass. A word like maalu 'rice', however, belongs to class 1². In this case, the diminutive prefix is used to express the single particle of the mass.

Communal prefixes ki- bu- and bi-

The prefixes ki-, bu- and bi- all express a communal aspect. They are distinct from each other as follows:

- ki- refers to inanimate nouns only, whereas bu- and bi- produce animate nouns

¹The origin of this prefix is probably the word for 'child', kowu.

²The word maalu is probably an ancient loan word since it is found in other African languages, such as Bambara. This would explain why its structure differs from that of other mass nouns in Noon.

- ki- and fu- always occur with a noun that can be interpreted as geographical or locative, to express a communal aspect of that area, whereas fi- is always prefixed to a proper noun

Communal ki- occurs in the following contexts:

- denoting the geographic area of a compound
- denoting a language or dialect

The geographical area is restricted to that of a compound, and the prefix is added to the family name of the area. If the family name is monosyllabic, it is reduplicated:

<u>family name</u>	<u>geographic area of the compound</u>
7. Tongol	ki-Tongol
8. Ñaabal	ki-Ñaabal
9. Tin	ki-Tin-Tin
10. Joon	ki-Joon-Joon

When denoting a language or a dialect, the prefix is added to the name of a people group or a part of a people group. Since a language or dialect is always connected to a bigger group than that of a compound, this use of ki- cannot be confused with the geographical use of the prefix.

<u>people</u>	<u>language</u>	
11. tuwaaß	ki-tuwaaß	'French'
12. noon	ki-noon	'Noon'
13. waal	ki-waal	'Wolof'

When describing a dialect or a smaller language, reduplication is common, but not obligatory.

part of people group

dialect

14. Padee (the village of Fandène) ki-padee-padee (dialect spoken in Fandène)

15. Cagin (the town of Thiès) ki-cagin-cagin (dialect spoken in Thiès)

Communal bu- is added to geographical or locative nouns to denote the inhabitants of that area:

16. bu-Padee 'the people of Fandène'

17. bu-Dakaa' 'the people of Dakar'

Communal bi- has a limited use in that it can only be prefixed to proper names to denote the family of that person, or the people with whom that person belongs:

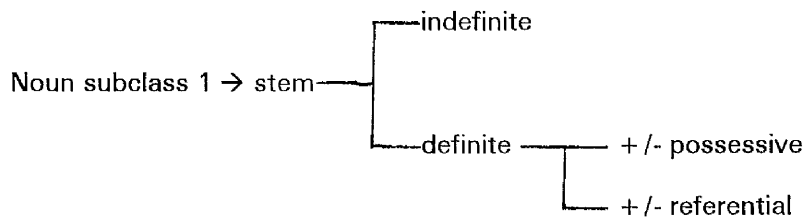
18. bi-Póllín 'the people of Pauline / Pauline's family'

19. bi-Pee' 'the people /the family of Pierre'

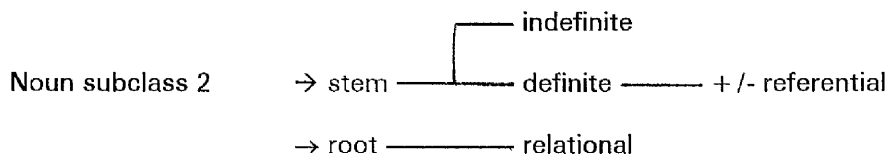
2.2.5. Inflectional affixes

Inflectional affixes are affixed to the noun root, or the noun stem if derivational affixes have been added. The affixes express the following notions: indefinite animate plural (restricted use), definite form, possession, relation, reference and vocative. The possessive suffix is used with nouns of subclass 1 (common nouns and relational nouns in the plural), the relational suffix occurs with nouns of subclass 2 (relational nouns in the singular). The different suffixes used in the subclasses cause different structure patterns, which will be seen as we describe separately subclasses 1 and 2.

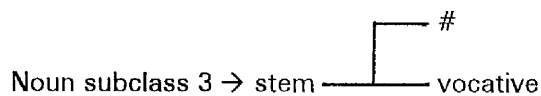
Nouns in subclass 1, i.e. common nouns and the plural of relational nouns, have the following inflectional possibilities:



Nouns in subclass 2, i.e. relational nouns in the singular, have the following suffixation patterns:



The nouns of subclass 3 has one single choice of inflectional suffixation:



In addition, animate nouns may in some cases take the indefinite prefix bi- (see 2.2.5.1.).

2.2.5.1. The indefinite form

Normally, the indefinite form is expressed by the stem without suffixes. In noun classes 1 and 2, there is no overt reference to the noun class or to singular or plural in the indefinite form. In classes 3-6 both noun class and number are apparent in the initial consonant (m, k, p and j) as well as the plural of classes 4-6 (t), but this is only a partial indication since nouns of classes 1 and 2 may have the same initial consonant as these other classes:

noun		noun class
1. mesip	'sauce'	3
2. mah	'ball of couscous'	1
3. kowu	'child'	4
4. kom	'part, piece'	1
5. pohoo	'grain of millet'	5
6. pēnís	'horse'	2
7. jokon	'finger'	6
8. jakal	'lizard'	2
9. tohoo	'millet'	5 plural
10. toḡ	'rain'	1

There is one inflectional affix that may be prefixed to the root to indicate a plural form, ḡi-. The same morpheme is used as a derivational prefix with a communal use, to indicate somebody's family. In this context, however, this same prefix is only used to refer to animate nouns to explicit the plural state. However, the prefix is not obligatory, and the root form is used synonymously with the prefixed form:

11. ḡi-kēmēḡkímun	'younger brothers'
12. ḡi-mooromun	'namesakes'
13. ḡi-ḡo'	'people'
14. ḡi-noon	'Noon-people'

2.2.5.2. The definite form

The definite form of the noun is expressed through the definite suffix which consists of two components: the noun class marker, which also marks the singular and plural, and

the marker of position³. These are linked and always occur together. It must be said here that although the definite suffix marks the position of the noun, its function is not primarily demonstrative. The position marking is not in focus, but just an additional information which must be known to the speaker if the noun is in a definite form. In comparison, the demonstrative determiner, which may follow the noun as a separate word, is primarily demonstrating the position of the noun. Thus, in light of the primary function of the determiner, we have chosen to use the term 'definite' for this suffix, although it does not only define the noun, but also gives information on the position. The difference in focus is seen in the examples:

- | | | | |
|-------------|---------------------|---------------|--------------|
| 1. kaan-fii | 'the house (here)' | kaan-fii fii | 'this house' |
| house-DEF | | house-DEF DEM | |
| | | | |
| 2. kowu-kaa | 'the child (there)' | kowu-kaa kaa | 'that child' |
| child-DEF | | child-DEF DEM | |

The noun class marker

As seen above (2.1.1.), the 6 different noun classes have the following noun class markers in the singular: Ø, f, m, k, p, j. In the plural, classes 1-3 have the class marker ɔ, and classes 4-6 bear the class marker t. As mentioned, the initial consonant of the nouns of classes 3-6 in the singular is identical with the class marker, and in the plural of classes 4-6, there is an initial-consonant alternation, which can be described as follows:

³A note must be made that there are very specific situations where the definite suffix is formed by the agreement marker instead of the noun class marker. This is described in 2.2.5.5. below.

Noun Class 4-6:

I
#C → t / +plural

This alternation takes place both in the indefinite and definite forms.

According to the morphophonological rules of Noon, the zero noun class marker of class 1 is filled by an epenthetic nasal when the noun has a vowel in the word final position (see 1.3.3.), or in some nouns with a short final vowel, this vowel is deleted and the definite suffix added to the resulting final consonant (1.3.5.).

The marker of position

This part of the definite suffix denotes the location of the referent object in relation to the speaker and/or addressee. There is a 3-term system functioning as follows:

position

- | | | |
|---|-----|--------------------------|
| 1 | -ii | 'close to the speaker' |
| 2 | -um | 'close to the addressee' |
| 3 | -aa | 'distant from both' |

The distant marker, 3, is used always when an object distant enough to both the speaker or the addressee that it cannot be decided to whom it is closest. The position marker also has anaphoric usage, denoting the distance in time and logic: A noun referred to in the past is always in position 3; in an argument, the reason closest to the speaker has its form in position 1.

The definite suffix will thus appear as follows in the different noun classes:

		indef		definite		
		class		pos 1	2	3
singular						
3.	1	hal	'door'	hal-ii	hal-um	hal-aa
4.	2	kaan	'house'	kaan-fii	kaan-fum	kaan-faa
5.	3	mesip	'sauce'	mesip-mii	mesip-mum	mesip-maa
6.	4	kedik	'tree'	kedik-kii	kedik-kum	kedik-kaa
7.	5	pēlkít	'thread'	pēlkít-pii	pēlkít-pum	pēlkít-paa
8.	6	jokon	'finger'	jokon-jii	jokon-jum	jokon-jaa
plural						
9.	1	hal	'doors'	hal-cii	hal-cum	hal-caa
10.	2	kaan	'houses'	kaan-cii	kaan-cum	kaan-caa
11.	3	mesip	'sauces'	mesip-cii	mesip-cum	mesip-caa
12.	4	tedik	'trees'	tedik-tii	tedik-tum	tedik-taa
13.	5	tēlkít	'threads'	tēlkít-tii	tēlkít-tum	tēlkít-taa
14.	6	tokon	'fingers'	tokon-tii	tokon-tum	tokon-taa

The definite form of compound nouns appears as follows:

		class	indef		def	
15.	4	kipii-wuruus	gold-ring	kipii-wuruus-kii	-kum	-kaa
16.	1	haf-mesik	headache	haf-mesik-ii	-um	-aa
17.	1	sareet-pēnís	horse-cart	sareet-pēnís-ii	-um	-aa
18.	2	cóoni-enoh	butterfly	cóoni-enoh-fii	-fum	-faa

2.2.5.3. Irregular nouns

Bo 'person, people'

Some nouns differ from the standard patterns given above. A frequent noun of class 1, bo 'person, people', shows a different pattern than that of other nouns of that class. Bo is the indefinite form, used both for the singular and the plural. Its singular definite form is a merger of the noun and the definite suffix, where the definite suffix replaces the lexical vowel⁴. The plural definite form has no plural class marker but it has the same singular suffix -ii, -um, -aa. Here, however, the suffix has not merged with the stem, but is separated from the stem vowel by a consonant /w/, and its stem vowel is not /o/ but /u/. We could thus interpret the plural as having a different root, buɓ, where the final consonant changes into a glide intervocalically (see 1.3.2.3.)

	def sing		plur
1. <u>bo</u> 'person'	<u>bo-ii</u>		<u>buw-ii</u> 'people'
	<u>bo-um</u>		<u>buw-um</u>
	<u>bo-aa</u>		<u>buw-aa</u>

The plural root, buɓ, does not occur alone. It is found only in the definite form (above), and probably as the origin of the derivational prefix bu- (animate communal) to denote 'the people of' a town, village or any geographical area:

2. bu-Padee 'the people of Fandène'
3. bu-Faras 'the people of France'

However, as mentioned above, to express the indefinite form the stem bo is used, both for singular and plural.

⁴This definite form of the noun is also used as an indefinite pronoun, see 2.4.2.2.

Irregular plural

As described in 2.1.1., the plural of classes 4-6 shows agreement on the initial consonant of the noun root even in the indefinite form, such as kedik/tedik 'tree/s'. One exception is the noun kíis 'year' (C4) which has the plural form tíkíis instead of showing a consonant alternation. The forms are:

	sg		pl	
	indef	def	indef	def
4.	kíis	kíis-kii	tíkíis	tíkíis-tii

This plural stem could be interpreted as containing a prefix ti-, which could be a remnant of class marking prefixes that originally could have been operating on all nouns where today we see a consonant alternation or a consonant identical to the class marker. However, if this is an ancient prefix, it has presently been incorporated into the noun root, since vowel harmony affects it, and makes it [+ATR], while, normally, vowel harmony does not affect inflectional prefixes nor high vowels (see 1.3.7.).

Plurale tantum

Some nouns only exist in the plural, and can only take a plural definite suffix, which in all these cases is the plural of classes 1-3 (c). Some of these nouns are pluractional formations and describe a phenomenon where more than one component or actor have to take part, as in:

	indef		def	
5.	cipañ	'wedding'	cipañ-caa	cf ki-pañ 'to marry'
6.	cikílook	'wedding'	cikílook-caa	cf kílook 'bride'
7.	sal	'crossing'	sal-caa	

Other plural nouns describe mass nouns or items that normally occur in great numbers to form parts of a whole;

	indef		def	
8.	cilííḅ	'dirt'	cilííḅ-caa	cf. lííḅ 'be dirty'
9.	ñërfa	'eyebrows'	ñërfa-caa	
10.	siimii	'pearls'	siimii-caa	
11.	bale	'broom'	bale-caa	

Some of these plural nouns have a singular alternative by the use of the diminutive prefix ku- (see also 2.2.4.) such as:

- | | | |
|-----|-----------|-----------|
| 12. | ku-siimii | 'pearl' |
| 13. | ku-bale | 'bristle' |

Nouns with alternating noun classes

Some nouns are alternating between two noun classes. This alternation may be due to the initial consonant which gives analogy with a certain class (most often class 4 (k)), or it may occur as a result of simplification of speech.

The noun kēmēṅkímun 'younger sibling' is an example where the trace of the diminutive prefix ku-, in the initial syllable of the word, results in alternating noun classes. Being part of the -mun relational nouns, it would belong to noun class 1, but bearing the prefix ku- (although only a trace is left), it may be part of class 4. As a class 4 noun, the plural also changes the medial consonant k to a t⁵ which, in its turn, changes the preceding nasal to assimilate with the plosive. Thus, the forms of both classes are possible:

⁵Probably in analogy with the initial consonant.

	sg		pl	
	indef	def	indef	def
16.	kēmēŋkímun	kēmēŋkímun-ii/ kēmēŋkímun-kii	kēmēŋkímun/ tēmēntímun	kēmēŋkímun-cii/ tēmēntímun-tii

Another example is the noun kobit 'credit', which belongs to class 2 (f), but which may also occur in class 4 (k), because of the initial k.

A tendency of simplification of the noun class system seems to be developing in some dialects and in the speech of some people. It is noun class 1 (Ø/c) that expands at the expense of especially class 2 (f/c).

2.2.5.4. The possessive construction

The possessive construction, which functions within nouns of subclass 1, is formed by the possessive pronoun which is suffixed to the noun. The possessive pronouns are the following:

	possessive suffixes
1sg	-goo
2sg	-garaa
3sg	-gari
1pl exclusive	-gërii
1pl inclusive	-garuu
2pl	-gëruu
3pl	-gaɓa

These pronouns can be analysed as consisting of two parts: ga and a morpheme that is identical with the animate object pronoun. In 1sg the logical form *-garoo has contracted into -goo. The ga is also found as a preposition with various functions, of which the meanings 'at, on, to' are the most common (see also 4.1.1.). Normally, it is an animate noun that occurs as the possessor, replaced by the possessive pronoun, but in some very rare cases it is possible to have an inanimate possessor which would be expressed by a form with a substitutive object pronoun, such as gaca 'their [-animate]'. Most commonly, however, is for the possession of inanimate nouns to be expressed by a prepositional phrase.

In the noun, the possessive suffix is always preceded by the definite suffix; in all common nouns and in the plural of the relational nouns, as in the examples:

	noun		noun + DEF + POSS	
1.	yoön	'field'	yoön-aa-goo	'my field (distant)'
2.	pēnís	'horse'	pēnís-fum-garaa	'your(sg) horse (near you)'
3.	miis	'milk'	miis-maa-gari	'his/her milk (distant)'
4.	kedik	'tree'	kedik-kii-gērīi	'our (EXCL) tree (near me)'
5.	pēlkít	'thread'	pēlkít-pii-garuu	'our (INCL) thread (near me)'
6.	jataa	'small calabash'	jataa-jaa-gērúu	'your small calabash (distant)'
7.	kaan	'compound'	kaan-caa-gaḃa	'their compounds (distant)'
8.	towu	'children'	towu-tii-goo	'my children (near me)'

2.2.5.5. The relational construction

The relational construction is used with relational nouns in the singular (subclass 2) to denote a relationship rather than a possession. The construction is formed by direct suffixation of the relational pronoun to the indefinite relational noun. Thus, there is no definite suffix preceding the relational pronoun, which also is a bound pronoun, suffixed to the noun. This construction itself reinforces the inalienable relationship between these components.

relational pronouns:

-roo	1sg
-fu	2sg
-ci	3sg
-rɪi	1 (EXCL) pl
-ruu	1 (INCL) pl
-rúu	2pl
-ɓa	3pl

The relational pronoun follows directly on the noun root, and consequently there is no indication of position. Following the morphophonological rules of Noon (rule 2, 1.3.4.), the initial r- of 1sg, 1 and 2pl will assimilate with a previous consonant in word final position. As mentioned, the nouns with the relational suffix -mun, lose this suffix at the affixation of the relational pronoun. The suffix is always -mun, except when the final consonant of the root is an -m. Here, the -m- of the suffix is lost, and the suffix is -un.

	noun (root + <u>-mun</u> suffix)		noun + relational suffix	
1.	yaal	'man'	yaal-loo	'my husband'
2.	ɓeti	'woman'	ɓeti-fu	'your wife'
3.	yaak-mun	'older sibling'	yaak-ci	'his/her older sibling'

4.	kēmēŋkí-mun	'younger sibling	kēmēŋkí-ríi	'our (EXCL) younger sibling'
5.	moorom-un	'peer'	moorom-buu	'our (INCL) peer'
6.	húnís-mun	'friend'	húnís-súu	'your friend'
7.	taanam-un	'uncle'	taanam-ḡa	'their uncle'
8.	kaan	'compound'	kaan-doo	'my compound'
9.	hal	'house(group)'	hal-fu	'your house(group)'
10.	túuy'	'room, hut'	túuy-ci	'his/her hut'

The nouns paamun 'father' and eewmun 'mother' are part of this group but they show some irregularity as to the final consonant of the root. In paamun, the root is paam, to which the suffixes are added regularly, except in the 2sg where the f of -fu takes the labial feature of the preceding m, and is realised as a plosive, p, while the -m of the root is dropped:

11.	paamboo	'my father'
12.	paapu	'your father'
13.	paamci	'his/her father'

Eewmun has the regular root eew, but in the 2 and 3sg the final w is dropped in front of the possessive suffix:

14.	eewwoo	'my mother'
15.	eefu	'your mother'
16.	eeci	'his/her mother'

A note has to be made about an exception to the construction presented above. We have said that the relational suffix is added onto the root of the noun, without a definite suffix. However, there are certain animate, relational nouns in the singular which, on some occasions, may appear in what seems to be a definite form, followed by a

possessive suffix, where a relational one would have been expected. The relational type of construction is in these cases also being used, synonymously with this other form.

Examples are:

17. paapa-yii-goo	'my father'	rather than	paam-boo
daddy-DEF-POSS			father-REL
18. Kooh-yii noon	'the Noon's God'	rather than	Kooh noon
God-DEF Noon			God Noon

The last example has a genitive construction (see 3.2.1.) but the same relational type of link between the nouns would have been expected. Note here, also, that the form of the definite suffix is irregular: Normally, a definite suffix is formed by the noun class marker, not the agreement marker as is the case here (see 2.2.5.2.).

2.2.5.6. The referential suffix

The reference suffix, -ma, is a discourse-anaphoric marker which follows the definite form of both the nouns of subclasses 1 and 2. It cannot co-occur with the possessive suffix or the relational suffix. The rôle of the reference suffix is to refer to a person or an object that has been previously mentioned (see 10.1.2.).

noun + DEF + REF

1. yaal-aa-ma 'the man (whom I mentioned)'
2. ñamah-ii-ma 'the food (of which we talk)'
3. kowu-kum-a⁶ 'the child (near you, of whom we talked)

⁶It has to be noted that, when following the definite suffix marking second position, -um, the initial consonant is lost in the referential suffix -ma

2.2.5.7. The vocative suffix

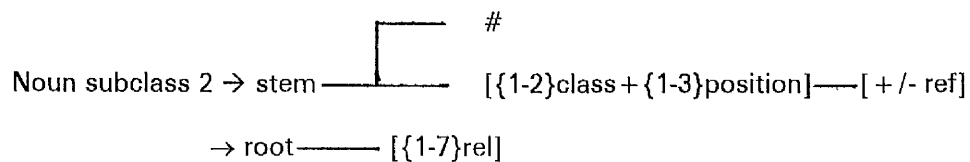
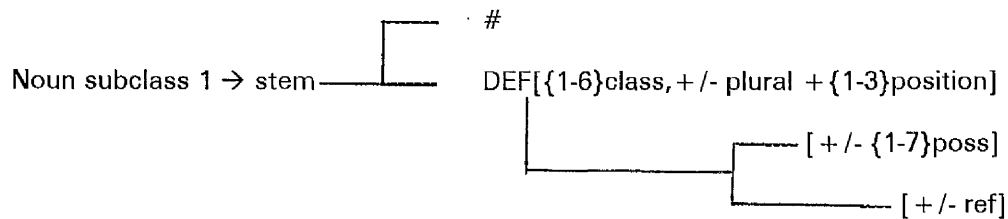
The vocative suffix -óo is added to the proper noun, or another noun used as a proper noun. If the noun has a final short vowel, this is normally deleted when the vocative is suffixed. In some cases there is an alternative form where the final vowel remains, and the suffix is added with a nasal insertion between the vowels (see 1.3.3.).

- | | |
|-----------------|----------------------|
| 1. Guu' (<Guur) | Guur-óo |
| 2. Mëti | Mët-óo |
| 3. Estela | Estel-óo/Estela-n-óo |
| 4. Papis | Papis-óo |

The vocative suffix is not obligatory in expressing a vocative; the proper noun itself may fill that function. However, the use of the suffix adds an affectionate or polite aspect to the utterance. Using the noun without suffix as a vocative makes a rather brusque impression.

2.2.6. Schema of the noun structure

The structures of the common nouns as well as of the relational nouns can thus be presented in more detail as in the following schemes:



Note: As mentioned under the more general chart in 2.2.5., some animate nouns may take the indefinite prefix bi-, but since this is a marginal phenomenon, we do not include it in the chart above.

2.3. Determiners

The determiners that may occur with the noun are demonstratives, adjectives, quantifiers and interrogatives. They all occur in postnominal position, generally in this given order. All determiners may have either determinative or pronominal functions in the NP.

2.3.1. Demonstratives

It is true that the definite suffix, which occurs in the noun, also has a demonstrative function in that it must distinguish the position of the noun (see 2.2.5.2.). However, the position marker in the definite form is not put into focus, as is the case with the demonstrative. The demonstrative determines the noun by further specifying its location or pointing it out among others. It occurs following a noun carrying a definite suffix. The structure of the demonstrative is:

demonstrative → agreement marker + [{1-4}position, +/- anaphoric]

The agreement marker makes the same distinctions as for the other nominals, but in addition the locative distinction is present for the demonstratives. However, as will be explained further ahead, the locative demonstrative determiner differs from the others in certain respects.

We have seen that in the definite suffix of the noun, there is a three-term position system, marked by the following vowels:

1. -ii 'near speaker'
2. -um 'near hearer'
3. -aa 'distant'

For the demonstratives, there is a fourth position marking further distant:

4. -úu 'very distant'

Thus, when a noun in a definite form has the position marker -aa, this can correspond to either the general distant -aa or the further distant -úu in the demonstrative.

In the definite suffix of a noun, the position marker is general. It can denote a purely spatial position, or it can refer to an anaphoric position; in time or in logic. For the demonstratives, the same three positions are present, with the addition of the fourth position, but there are two further distinctions made within these four groups: the distinction between anaphoric and spatial.¹ The anaphoric function is expressed by the more general forms, -ii/-um/-aa/-úu, similar to the three forms in, for example, the definite suffix. In positions 1, 3 and 4, however, there are separate forms denoting a purely spatial aspect. This spatial form is marked by the implosive /y/ in word final position, as seen below. In addition, a distal suffix, -nee (which otherwise only occurs with verbs), may be added to the demonstrative in position 4, to further increase the distance of the object². The purely spatial demonstratives are always used in

¹For the spatial and anaphoric usages, see Discourse, 10.3.

²The distal form may occur both with the anaphoric and the spatial forms of the demonstrative, although the anaphoric form is more common. With the spatial demonstrative, the suffixation of -nee produces a morphophonological change in the demonstrative in that the final implosive is weakened to an approximant, /y/.

combination with a pointing (of a finger or the head) in a certain direction. The following demonstrative forms are found (the agreement marker is represented by C):

position	anaphoric	spatial	distal
1	Cii	Ciiy'	
2	Cum	Cum	
3	Caa	Caay'	
4	Cúu	Cúuy'	Cúu-nee/Cúuy-nee

The possible demonstratives are consequently:

	anaphoric				spatial				distal
position	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	4
class									
1	wii	wum	waa	wúu	wiiy'	wum	waay'	wúuy'	wúunee
2	fii	fum	faa	fúu	fiiy'	fum	faay'	fúuy'	fúunee
3	mii	mum	maa	múu	miiy'	mum	maay'	múuy'	múunee
4	kii	kum	kaa	kúu	kiiy'	kum	kaay'	kúuy'	kúunee
5	pii	pum	paa	púu	piiy'	pum	paay'	púuy'	púunee
6	jii	jum	jaa	júu	jiiy'	jum	jaay'	júuy'	júunee
animate	yii	yum	yaa	yúu	yiiy'	yum	yaay'	yúuy'	yúunee
{1-3} plural	cii	cum	caa	cúu	ciiy'	cum	caay'	cúuy'	cúunee
{4-6} plural	tii	tum	taa	túu	tiiy'	tum	taay'	túuy'	túunee
animate plural	ḃii	ḃum	ḃaa	ḃúu	ḃiiy'	ḃum	ḃaay'	ḃúuy'	ḃúunee
locative	dii	dum	daa	dúu	dii	dum	daay'	dúuy'	dúunee

The locative agreement marker (d-) forms a demonstrative, dii etc., that differs from the other demonstratives in the following ways:

- it never occurs as a determiner, but independently as a pronoun³
- it replaces a noun or a NP functioning as a locative adjunct
- there is no separate spatial form in the 1st position (*diiy), as found with the other demonstratives

Examples of demonstratives:

1. Waas-ii wii hoor-in. 'This road is long.'

road-DEF DEM(PO.1.AN) be.long-PERF

2. Kedik-kum kum hiilii'-in. 'That tree near you is green.'

tree-DEF DEM(PO.2) be.green-PERF

3. Mi ínoh-in dëk-aa waa. 'I know that village.'

I know-PERF village-DEF DEM(PO.3.AN)

4. Mi dëk kaan-fii fiy 'I live in this house here.'

I live house-DEF DEM(PO.1.SP)

5. Mi, mi dëk kaan-faa fúu-nee. 'Me, I live in the house over there.'

I I live house-DEF DEM(PO.3.SP)-DIST

6. Pënís-faa faay soot-in. 'That horse there is dangerous.'

horse-DEF DEM(PO.3.SP) be.dangerous-PERF

³The locative demonstrative should thus rather not be dealt with in this section on determiners, but for comparison with other demonstratives it is presented here.

7. Mi ka'-ta dúuy-nee.

'I went over there.'

I go-NARR DEM(PO.3.SP)-DIST

2.3.2. Adjectives

The adjective functions as a determiner of the noun in the nominal phrase, or, with an implicit noun, as the head of the NP (see 3.1.). The adjectives can be divided into three classes according to their structure:

- root adjectives (i.e. those that occur in their root form in this function)
- deverbal adjectives
- ordinal adjectives

Among the root adjectives, we distinguish between "true" adjectives (that only occur in this form), adjectives/stative verbs, incremental and alternative adjectives that are treated separately. The deverbal adjectives differ from the root adjectives in that they are derived verbs, appearing with a participle suffix. The root adjectives and the deverbal adjectives bear an attributive prefix, while the ordinals take an ordinal prefix. All adjectives may take the definite suffix, in agreement with the determined noun, and for the ordinal adjective the definite suffix is obligatory. We will start by looking at the inflectional affixes, and then at the different classes of adjectives where the affixes occur.

2.3.2.1. Inflectional affixes

The inflectional affixes of the adjectives are the attributive prefix, the ordinal prefix and the definite suffix. All inflectional affixes are in agreement with the determined noun with respect to noun class, number, animateness and, to some extent, size ([+/- diminutive]). The noun with which the adjective is in agreement may be explicit or implicit in the phrase.

Attributive prefixes and ordinal prefixes

The attributive prefixes are obligatory with the root adjectives and the deverbal adjectives, and the ordinal prefixes with the ordinal adjectives. Therefore, even if an adjective occurs as the head of a nominal phrase, the noun it is determining must be implicit in order to assign the prefix needed. The attributive prefix consists of the agreement marker and the vowel -i-, while the ordinal prefix has -u- as its vowel nucleus.

		attributive prefix	ordinal prefix
sg C	1	wi-	wu-
	2	fi-	fu-
	3	mi-	mu-
	4	ki-	ku-
	5	pi-	pu-
	6	ji-	ju-
pl C	1-3	ci-	cu-
	4-6	ti-	tu-
animate sg		yi-	yu-
pl		fi-	fu-

Definite suffixes

The definite suffixes occur with all adjectives, and obligatorily with the ordinal adjective (since its head always has the definite suffix). The definite suffixes of the adjectives are the same as those of the noun, but with the agreement marker in the place of the noun class marker. As in the noun suffix, there is a three-term marking of position. The position marking of the adjective is always in agreement with that of the noun.

The structures of the inflectional affixes of the adjective can be presented as follows:

attributive prefix → agreement marker + -i-
ordinal prefix → agreement marker + -u-
definite suffix → agreement marker + {1-3} position

2.3.2.2. Root adjectives

The general structure of root adjectives is:

adjective → attributive prefix + root (+ definite suffix)

The root adjective appears in its root form in the function of an adjective, i.e. without the adjectivising participle suffix. These adjectives can be divided into four subclasses:

- "true" adjectives, which appear in the function of adjective only
- adjectives/stative verbs, where the adjectives have an identical form that functions as a stative verb
- incremental adjectives
- alternative adjectives

2.3.2.2.1. True adjectives

This set consists of only a handful of frequent adjectives, which may only occur in the form of adjective. They are the following:

- | | |
|-----------|---------|
| 1. as | 'new' |
| 2. buucuc | 'empty' |
| 3. yaak | 'old' |
| 4. yín | 'small' |

Here, we can also place the two gender adjectives yaa 'male' and beti 'female'. These adjectives are identical with the nouns for 'man' and 'woman', but preceded by an attributive prefix they function as gender adjectives.

	class	indefinite	definite
5.	2	kaan fi-'as 'a new house'	kaan-fii fi-'as-fii 'the new house (here)'
6.	1	cëwúu ci-yín 'small flies'	cëwúu-cii ci-yín-cii 'the small flies (here)'
7.	4	kowu ki-beti 'a girl'	kowu-kaa ki-beti-kaa 'the girl (there)'

2.3.2.2.2. Adjectives/stative verbs

The adjective of this subclass has an identical form which functions as stative verb. However, the adjectives are not derived verbs, since they do not carry the participle suffix. This subclass contains all the colours and a few other common adjectives:

1.	buloh	'blue'
2.	hiilii	'green'
3.	mbaasaan	'yellow'
4.	súusúus	'black'
5.	yaanaaw	'white'
6.	yo'oh	'red'
7.	jutuut	'small, little'
8.	yak	'big'
9.	yewin	'many, numerous'
10.	gëñ	'many, numerous'
11.	lohoy'	'short'
12.	sewiñ	'thin'
13.	úsaay	'distant'

Note: The last three adjectives, lohoj 'short', sewiñ 'thin' and usaay 'distant', all have the alternative forms of both root adjective and deverbal adjective.

Examples:

	class	indefinite	definite	
14.	1	waas wi-yak	waas-um wi-yak-wum	'the big road (near you)'
15.	1	y'aal yi-yaanaaw	y'aal-ii yi-yaanaaw-yii	'the white man (here)'
16.	4	kedik ki-sewiñ	kedik-kii ki-sewiñ-kii	'the thin tree (here)'
17.	5	pëlkit pi-yo'oh	pëlkit-paa pi-yo'oh-paa	'the red thread (there)'

2.3.2.2.3. Incremental adjectives

Incremental adjectives serve to express the notion 'another' or 'more of the same kind'.

It can be seen as having the root -liis, although this root never appears alone. To this root is added the attributive prefix, just as for other root adjectives. However, the incremental adjectives never occur with a definite suffix. This can be explained by the fact that its function is purely additive, and if a noun is made definite, the signification becomes alternative ('one / the other').

	Class		
1.	1	yoön wi-liis	'another field'
2.	2	kaan fi-liis	'another house'
3.	4	kowu ki-liis	'another child'
4.	4	tedik ti-liis	'other/more trees'
5.	1	beti bi-liis	'other/more women'
6.	1	bo' yi-liis	'another person'

In a pronominal position, the meaning is also indefinite:

7. Mi hot-ta ʃi-liis 'I saw others (other/more people). '

I see-NARR ATTR-more

For the incremental adjectives, there is also the agreement distinction of location. If the noun expresses a place or an area, the agreement marker is d-, but only on two occasions:

- when the determined noun is dekat 'place'. (Here, both locative: di-liis and class 1: wi-liis are possible alternatives.)
- when the noun is implicit, and the pronoun occurs independently as locative complement or adjunct.

8. dekat diliis 'another place' (alt.: dekat wiliis)

9. diliis 'somewhere else'

2.3.2.2.4. Alternative adjectives

The function of the alternative adjectives is to express the notion of 'one / the other' and to distinguish between two or more different things which are of the same kind.

This is done by an adjective with the numeral 1, wiinoo, as its root. This adjective does not take the attributive prefix, since the agreement is shown in the root itself, and the initial consonant is the agreement marker that links it to its antecedent (see 2.3.3.2.).

This adjective may occur with or without the definite suffix, but in different positions: In a comparison between two participants, the first is referred to by an indefinite form wiinoo, even though the noun is definite. Any participant that is referred to after the first takes the definite adjective wiinoo-waa. If the order is not specified, but a choice of 'one of them' is expressed, the definite form is used. This gives the following general model:

wiinoo	-	wiino-waa
'one'		'the other, one of'

Examples:

1. En-ee beti banak. Yiinoo wo' yiinoo-yaa an: Hay!

be-PAST women two one say one-DEF COMPL come

'There were two women. One said to the other: Come!'

2. Beti-faa yiinoo ka'-ta luuf-aa. 'The first woman went to the forest.'

woman-DEF one go-NARR forest-DEF

3. Beti-faa yiinoo-yaa ka'-ta kaan. 'The other woman / One of the women went home.'

woman-DEF one-DEF go-NARR house

2.3.2.3. Deverbal adjectives

The structure of the deverbal adjectives is as follows:

deverbal adjective = attributive prefix + verb root + participle suffix (+ definite suffix)

The majority of adjectives in Noon are derived from verbs. It is the participle form, active or passive, of the verb that functions as an adjective. The structure of these deverbal adjectives consists of a verb root followed by a participle suffix. There are three participle suffixes;

-i'	active
-ra	intensive active
-uu'	passive

The active participle suffixes are added to the root of the stative verb. The participle suffix -í' may induce vowel harmony on the root, if the vowel of the root is [-high] (see 1.3.7.2.). The vibrant in the suffix -ra entails a consonant lengthening (according to the morphophonological rule 3 described in 1.3.4.). The derived adjectives of the verbs neḅ, jof and ḅít would appear as follows:

	<u>verb root</u>	<u>active participle</u>	<u>intensive active participle</u>
1.	neḅ 'be tasty'	néw-í' 'tasty'	neḅ-pa (< neḅ-ra) 'very tasty'
2.	jof 'be good'	jóf-í' 'good'	jof-fa 'very good'
3.	ḅít 'be heavy'	ḅít-í' 'heavy'	ḅít-ta 'very heavy'
4.	aay 'be hot/spicy'	äey-í' 'hot/spicy'	aay-ya 'very hot/spicy'

Occasionally, the active participle suffix can be used with non-stative verbs if these describe an attribute rather than an action.

5.	ḁoḅ 'bite'	ḁówí' (< ḁoḅ-í) 'biting'
----	---------------	-----------------------------

The passive participle suffix is added to the root of a transitive verb as follows⁴:

⁴It must be said that the passive participle is quite rarely used. The same meaning is commonly expressed by a relative clause with a passive verb.

	verb root		passive	
6.	tap	'pound'	tapuu'	'pounded'
7.	tík	'cook'	tíkúu'	'cooked'
8.	gú'	'cut'	gúruu'	'cut'

The inflectional affixes are added to the participle in the same manner as for root adjectives. The nouns in the examples 9-11 are cuunoh 'lunch', kowu 'child' and hareen 'peanut' (classes 2, 4 and 1). Note that 'child' has a diminutive feature, mirrored in the agreement marker -j-:

	indefinite	definite	
9.	cuunoh fi-neḅpa	cuunoh-fii fi-neḅpa-fii	'the very tasty lunch (here)'
10.	kowu ji-jóff'	kowu-kum ji-jóff-jum	'the good child (near you)'
11.	hareen ci-tapuu'	hareen-caa ci-tapuu'-caa	'the pounded peanuts (there)'

2.3.2.4. Ordinal adjectives

The structure of ordinal adjectives is as follows:

ordinal adjective = ordinal prefix + cardinal numeral + definite suffix

All cardinal numerals (see 2.3.3.1.1.), except wíinoo 'one', may function as the base of an ordinal adjective. These adjectives differ in their structure from the previous ones in that they take another set of class marking prefixes, ordinal prefixes, and that they always occur with the definite suffix. Examples of the ordinal adjectives:

	determined noun		class	ordinal adjective	
1.	waas	'road'	1	wu-kanak-wii	'the second (road) (here)'
2.	kaan	'compound'	2	fu-kaahay-faa	'the third (compound) (there)'
3.	kedik	'tree'	4	ku-nikiis-kaa	'the fourth (tree) (there)'
4.	y'aal	'man'	1	yu-yitnanikiis-yum	'the ninth (man) (near you)'
5.	jataa	'small jar'	6	tu-daangkah na tanak-tii	'the twelfth (small jar) (here).'

The ordinal of number one is formed by the use of the stative verb deḅ 'be first', or with the noun deḅ, which signifies the person or object that is first. The noun deḅ is part of noun class 1, and consequently has the definite forms: dewii, dewum, dewaa. Most commonly, the notion of 'first' is expressed by a relative clause with the stative verb deḅ, determining the noun. (The marker of the relative clause is the particle da):

6. kaan-faa deḅ da 'the house that is first'
house-DEF(PO.3) be.first REL.M

It is also possible, although less common, to use the noun deḅ to form the ordinal adjective. In this case, the definite form of the noun deḅ functions in the same way as the cardinal numerals.

7. kaan-faa fu-dewaa-faa 'the first house'
house-DEF ATTR-the.first.one-DEF

2.3.3. Quantifiers

The function of these determiners is to quantify the noun, which can be done by a specific numeral, or by a more general non-numeral (e.g. universal tóoh 'all'). These two categories and their respective agreement with the noun will be described here.

2.3.3.1. Numeral quantifiers

As in several other West Atlantic languages, the numerals in Noon are based on a quinary system. This is realised by the fact that there are separate words for numbers 1-5 and 10 only, and the rest of the numbers are multiplications and/or additions of these base numbers. Exceptions are the higher numbers 100, 1000 etc., where Wolof loan words are used, and sometimes French numbers. Actually, it is very common for the Noon to use pure Wolof or French when counting above the number of 100, and only French for numbers above 10 000.

2.3.3.1.1. Cardinal numerals

Based on their structure, the numerals can be grouped into 3 categories, according to their construction: simple, juxtaposed and linked numerals.

Simple numerals

Simple numerals are numbers 1-5, 10, 100, 1000 etc., that consist of a monomorphemic root:

1	wíinoo /wítnoo*
2	kanak
3	kaahay
4	nikiis
5	yëtús
10	daaŋkah
100	téemée'

1000 júní

*The alternative form for 'one', wítnoo, is only used in the counting process.

Juxtaposed numerals

These numerals consist of two numbers, with the relationship of multiplication, which is marked by a simple juxtaposition. The higher number always precedes the lower; 10x2, not 2x10. The juxtaposed numerals are used to denote all the decimals between 10, 100, 1000 etc.

20	daanjah kanak	(10x2)
30	daanjah kaahay	(10x3)
300	téemée' kaahay	(100x3)
4000	júnní nikiis	(1000x4)

Linked numerals

Linked numerals are numbers, or parts of numbers, where a simple addition has been made. This relationship is marked by the preposition na 'with'. There are three kinds of linked numbers:

a) two simple numerals and the preposition na are contracted into a compound word (numbers 6-9). Mark that the [+ATR] feature of wítnoo is lost in this contraction.

6	yitniinoo	<yētús + na + wítnoo
7	yitnakanak	<yētús + na + kanak
8	yitnakaahay	etc.
9	yitnanikiis	

b) two or more simple numerals, each connected by the preposition, are linked as a group of words

- 11 daaŋkah na wíinoo
12 daaŋkah na kanak
13 daaŋkah na kaahay
14 daaŋkah na nikiis
115 téemée' na daaŋkah na yētús
1116 júnání na téemée' na daaŋkah na yitniinoo
etc.

c) a series of two or more simple and/or juxtaposed numerals where each addition is made by the use of the preposition /na/:

- 21 daaŋkah kanak na wíinoo $(10 \times 2 + 1)$
210 téemée' kanak na daaŋkah $(100 \times 2 + 10)$
546 téemée' yētús na daaŋkah nikiis na yitniinoo $(100 \times 5 + 10 \times 4 + (5 + 1))$
6891 júnání yitniinoo na téemée' yitnakaahay na daaŋkah yitnanikiis na wíinoo
 $(1000 \times (5 + 1) + 100 \times 8 + 10 \times 9 + 1)$

2.3.3.1.2. Ordinal and distributive numerals

Ordinal numerals

Because of the structure of the ordinals in Noon, we have decided to treat them not as numerals, but as adjectives, based on the cardinal numerals except for the cardinal 1 (see 2.3.2.4. Ordinal adjectives).

Distributive numerals

Distributive numerals do not function as determiners of a noun but as adverbial modifiers. Still, they show agreement with the subject of the action. The form of the distributives is a reduplication based on their corresponding cardinals. In the following examples, the subjects are animate, which is reflected in the agreement markers y-/b- in the numerals:

1. 'Ba hay-ee yíinoo-yíinoo 'They came one by one'
they come-PAST one-one

2. Yug-at baahay-baahay! 'Sit down in threes.'
sit-IMP three-three

3. 'Ba eroh yëtús-yëtús. 'They give five each.'
they give five-five

Note that the distributive numeral can only be used in a more adverbial function. As soon as there is a noun reference, as in 'I gave them five fish each', the phrase needs to be restructured with an expression such as:

yaa en béeḅ 'everyone, each'
s/he be everyone

as in:

4. Mi e'-ta-ḅa yaa en béeḅ jën ci-yëtús. 'I gave everyone five fish each.'⁵
I give-NARR-OBJ(3pl) s/he be everyone fish ATTR-five

2.3.3.2. Agreement

The forms of the numerals that we have presented so far, are used in counting and without a specific referent. When functioning as a determiner, the numeral is marked for

⁵See also the distributive use of the quantifier béeḅ, 2.3.3.3.

agreement with the noun it determines, the noun being explicit or implicit in the NP. The concord is either marked by an initial-consonant alternation, as in numbers 1-3, or by an attributive prefix, as in the numbers above 3. The attributive prefixes are the same as for the adjectives (see 2.3.2.1.).

The initial consonant alternation in numbers 1-3 can be described in the following terms:

Numbers 1-3 have the underlying forms of Cínoo, Canak and Caahay, where C represents the agreement marker. As seen for the adjectives, the agreement marker is determined by the following features:

- {1-6} class
- +/- plural
- +/- animate
- +/- diminutive

In the numerals, the +/-plural feature is naturally divided between number 1 and the others. This gives the following realisations of number 1:

class

1	-animate	wíinoo	hal wíinoo	'one door'
2	"	fíinoo	kaan fíinoo	'one compound'
3	"	míinoo	mesip míinoo	'one sauce'
4	"	kíinoo	kedik kíinoo	'one tree'
5	"	jíinoo	jokon jíinoo	'one finger'
6	"	píinoo	pēlkít píinoo	'one thread'
	+ animate	yíinoo	yaal yíinoo	'one man'
	+ diminutive	jíinoo	kubaay jíinoo	'one puppy'

In the plural of noun classes 1-3, the initial consonants of numbers 2 and 3 deviate from the agreement marker: it is not c but k. Numbers 2 and 3 are thus realised in the following forms when determining a noun:

class	animate	diminutive	2	3
{1-3}	-	-	kanak	kaahay
{4-6}	-	-	tanak	taahay
	+	-	ḡanak	ḡaahay
		+	tanak	taahay

	class	animate	diminutive		
1.	1	-	-	hal <u>k</u> anak	'two doors'
2.	2	-	-	kaan <u>k</u> aahay	'three houses/compounds'
3.	4	-	-	tedik <u>t</u> anak	'two trees'
4.	2	+	-	ḡeti <u>ḡ</u> aahay	'three women'
5.	4	+	+	tuy'aal <u>t</u> aahay	'three small men'

When determining a noun, all numbers above 3 take the attributive prefix which shows agreement with the noun. The attributive prefixes are the same as for other determiners in the plural:

class	animate	diminutive	
{1-3}	-	-	ci-
{4-6}	-	-	ti-
	+	-	ḡi-
		+	ti-

		class	
6.	1	túuy' <u>ci</u> -nikiis	'four huts'
7.	4	tíkíis <u>ti</u> -yétús	'five years'
8.	1	ya'bu <u>bi</u> -daaŋkah	'ten old women'

In the juxtaposed numerals, only the first number shows agreement with the noun, while in linked numerals, agreement is marked on each numeral, either by initial consonant alternation or by the attributive prefix.

9.	túuy' <u>ci</u> -daaŋkah yétús	'50 huts'
10.	tíkíis <u>ti</u> -daaŋkah na <u>ti</u> -yétús	'15 years'
11.	ya'bu <u>bi</u> -yitna <u>bi</u> anak	'7 old women'

If the determined noun is in the definite form, bearing the definite suffix, the numeral will also take the definite suffix, which has the same structure as for the adjectives.

12.	beti-caa <u>ba</u> nak- <u>baa</u>	'the two women'
-----	------------------------------------	-----------------

2.3.3.3. Non-numeral quantifiers

There are three quantifiers that do not refer to a specific numeral, but that still quantify the noun. They are the following:

tóoh	'all, everything'
beeɓ	'all, every'
haŋ	'alone'

These quantifiers all operate quite differently and will therefore be presented separately, with their different functions. The first two are both universal quantifiers, but béeb may also have a distributive function. In its universal function, béeb is used for animate nouns only, whereas tóoh occurs with any noun as a determiner, but only referring to inanimate nouns when in a pronominal form. Haŋ is a restrictive quantifier which occurs with a relational suffix.

Universal quantifier tóoh 'all, everything'

Tóoh is a universal, purely collective quantifier, that occurs in two functions:

- as the determiner of a noun or a pronoun, in a postnominal position. The noun that is determined by tóoh is either in the plural or, if a mass noun, in the singular, [+/-animate].
- as a universal pro-form, the noun implied, in an object position. Here, the implied noun is [-animate]

1. Beti-caa tóoh hay-uunun. 'All the women have come.'
 women-DEF all come-PERF(pl)

2. Baay-faa ñam-in maal-aa tóoh. 'The dog has eaten all the rice.'
 dog-DEF eat-PERF rice-DEF all

3. Baay-faa ñam-in tóoh. 'The dog has eaten everything.'
 dog-DEF eat-PERF all

In order to express the universal pro-form in a subject position, an indefinite pronoun, such as ĩña 'that, something', has to function as the head of the NP, determined by tóoh, as in the example:

4. lñaá tooh leeh-in. 'Everything has finished.'

P.I all finish-PERF

Universal/distributive quantifier ḡééḡ 'all, everybody, every'

There are three separate uses of this quantifier, with different meanings:

- a) ḡééḡ + relational pronoun gives a universal quantifier
- b) ḡééḡ unsuffixed, as subject or object, is a pronominal [+animate] quantifier
- c) ḡééḡ unsuffixed, in a verbal construction, is distributive

a) Bééḡ may take the relational pronoun as its suffix, and thereby express the meaning 'all/together'. This use of ḡééḡ almost exclusively occurs with animate nouns and, naturally, it is only the plural forms of the pronouns that occur in this quantifier. The different forms are thus:

ḡééḡ + -rīi	→	ḡééḡ-pīi	'we (EXCL) all/together'
ḡééḡ + -ruu	→	ḡééḡ-puu	'we (INCL) all/together'
ḡééḡ + -rūu	→	ḡééḡ-pūu	'you all/together'
ḡééḡ + -ḡa	→	ḡééḡ-ḡa	'they all/together'

These quantifiers may occur as determiners of the noun in the NP, or as a displaced determiner in an adjunct position. Even in these positions outside the NP, they show agreement with the subject noun, as in examples 5 and 7:

5. Dí hay-in ḡééḡ-pīi. 'We (EXCL) came all of us/together.'

we(EXCL) come-PERF all-REL

6. Du ḡééḡ-puu, du hay ki-ka' daama. 'We all, we will go there.'

we(INCL) all-REL we will(AUX) INF-go there

or

7. 'Du hay ki-ka' daama bééḅ-puu. 'We will go there together.'

we(INCL) will(AUX) INF-go there all-REL

8. Pe'-cii en-ee dii ḁa bééḅ-ḁa, ḁada? 'All the goats that were here, where are they?'

goats-DEF be-PAST here REL.M all-REL where

b) An unsuffixed, pronominal bééḅ functions as a quantifier referring to an implied animate noun. This pronoun may take the subject or object rôle of the clause. This use of bééḅ is far less common than the one described under c).

9. 'Bééḅ meyoḁ ga wek. 'Everything(living) comes out at night.'

everyone come.out at night

10. Wo'-aa ga bééḅ. 'Tell everybody.'

say-IMP to all

c) Unsuffixed, bééḅ functions as a nominal determiner with distributive signification under specific circumstances: The noun and the quantifier bééḅ must be separated by a verb. This verb can be realised either in a relative clause or by the verb en 'be'.

11. Bes-aa fu hay dii bééḅ, mi sek-kaa. 'Every day that you come here, I wait for you.'

day-DEF you come here every, I wait-OBJ.2sg

12. Bes-aa en bééḅ, fu hay. 'You come every day.'

day-DEF is every, you come

13. Yaa en ga béeḅ mín ki-soom toohoo. 'Everyone can pound millet.'

S/he is of every can INF-pound millet

When the verb en is used, it may or may not be followed by the preposition ga, which here gives a partitive sense when occurring after the verb.

Restrictive quantifier haŋ 'alone'

This quantifier almost never occurs on its own, but is normally suffixed by the relational pronouns (see 2.2.5.5.)

	sing	plur
1	haŋ-goo	haŋ-gii (EXCL) haŋ-guu (INCL)
2	haŋ-fu	haŋ-gúu
3	haŋ-ci	haŋ-ḁa

As the quantifier béeḅ when suffixed by the relational pronoun, haŋ may occur as the determiner of the noun in the NP, or as an adverbial modification, and in both position it shows agreement with the subject of the clause.

14. Mi haŋ-goo ínoh-in wa. 'I alone know it.'

I alone-REL(1sg) know-PERF OBJ(C1sg)

15. Oomaa-caa hay-uunun haŋ-ḁa. 'The children have come alone.'

children-DEF come-PERF(pl) alone-REL(3pl)

2.3.4. Interrogatives

Interrogative determiners occur in questions that require a specification of a certain noun. As with other determiners, the noun may be implied and the determiner then has a pronominal function, which still shows agreement with the implicit noun. Other interrogative pronouns, which do not function as determiners, are dealt with elsewhere (see 2.4.2.5.). There are two groups of interrogative determiners: selective and quantifying.

Selective interrogatives

This determiner asks for a specification or a selection of one item among several that are known to the hearer: 'which one(s)?' The interrogative is Ciida, where C stands for the agreement marker. Here, if the head noun is explicit, it is always in a definite form.

	class		
1.	1sg	túuy-ii wiida?	'which hut?'
2.	1pl	pabu-cii ciida?	'which chickens?'
3.	3sg	mesip-mii miida?	'which sauce?'
4.	1sg.A	yiida?	'which one (person)'

Quantifying interrogatives

These determiners ask about the quantity of the noun, 'how many', and consequently they exist only in the plural. The structure is Cera, where C stands for the agreement marker. The three possible pronouns are therefore;

	class			
5.	1-3pl	cera	túuy'cera	'how many huts?'
6.	4-6pl	tera	tikiis tera	'how many years?'
7.	1-6pl.A	ɓera	ɓeti ɓera	'how many women?'

2.4. Pronouns

As indicated by the name, the function of the pronoun is to replace a NP or a nominal within the NP. In order to make a clear description of the Noon pronouns we must make some divisions according to the form and function of the different pronouns. The first division is that of free and bound pronouns. The free pronouns all have a possibility of forming a constituent of a clause on their own, while the bound pronouns are forcibly attached to a head, as suffixes. The group of bound pronouns only consists of three sets; the animate object, the possessive and the relational pronouns, while the vast majority of the pronouns occur as free. The free pronouns are divided into agreement and non-agreement pronouns. Being part of the nominal system, a large group of the pronouns show agreement with the noun class. The pronouns of the non-agreement group do not refer to a specific noun, and thus show no agreement. These two groups are then further divided, according to the functions of the pronouns.

2.4.1. Agreement pronouns

This category contains a large group of pronouns that all have the agreement marker as a common structural feature. The agreement pronouns can be divided into substitutive, appropriative, determining and emphatic pronouns, according to their function in the nominal phrase.

2.4.1.1. Substitutive pronouns

As indicated by the name, the pronouns of this group substitute a noun, or a whole NP. In their grammatical function, the substitutive pronouns are very similar to the allocutive pronouns (2.4.2.1.). They both take the rôle of a subject of the clause, and as subjects they may be determined by the emphatic pronoun. They may also function on their own as a clause, in answers and in polar questions, (with the suffix *-ə*). However, unlike the allocutives, the substitutive pronoun always refers to a specific noun, with which it

shows agreement. In the function of object, there is another distinction operating within the whole group of substitutive and allocutive pronouns, namely that of animateness. When substitutive pronouns are [-animate], they can also function as objects, but then without position distinction. The [+animate] object pronouns, on the other hand, are expressed by a separate set of pronouns which are all in the form of bound pronouns, both allocutive and substitutive (see 2.4.3.). According to their function in the clause, the substitutive pronouns can be grouped into subject, object and adjunct, with the following structures:

substitutive pronoun:

subject = agreement marker + location {1, 3} (i / a)

object [-animate] = agreement marker [-animate] + a

The agreement marker shows the same distinctions as in the other nominals, and in addition, the distinction of the locative, d-, is present when the substitutive pronoun functions as a locative object.

In the function of subject, the vowel following the agreement marker is -i or -a depending on the position of the referred noun. Thus, for these pronouns there is only a twofold position distinction; near (-i) or distant (-a) to the speaker, corresponding to positions 1 and 3 found in, for example, the definite suffixes and the demonstratives. The object and adjunct forms only have the vowel -a. That gives the following list of substitutive pronouns:

class	subject				object	
	sg		pl		sg	pl
	PO.1	PO.3	PO.1	PO.3		
1	wi	wa	ci	ca	wa	ca
2	fi	fa	ci	ca	fa	ca

3	mi	ma	ci	ca	ma	ca
4	ki	ka	ti	ta	ka	ta
5	pi	pa	ti	ta	pa	ta
6	ji	ja	ti	ta	ja	ta
animate	yi	ya	bi	ba	-	-
locative					da	

The pronouns substitute a noun as in the examples:

implicit noun

pronoun as subject:

pronoun as object:

1. túuy 'hut' (C1)

Wa mor-in. 'It is nice'

Mi hot wa. 'I see it.'

it(C1) be.nice-PERF

I see it(C1)

2. kedik 'tree' (C4)

Ki hoor-in. 'It is high.'

Ya lap ka. 'S/he climbs it.'

it(C4) be.high-PERF

s/he climb it(C4)

3. yaal 'man' (C1.A)

Yi hay-in. 'He has come.'

he come-PERF

4. beti 'women' (C2.A)

Ba-n-e? 'They?'

they-N-PQ

implicit locative noun locative pronoun as locative object:

5. luuf 'forest' (C1)

Ya le'-'a da. 'S/he arrived there.'

s/he arrive-NARR there

2.4.1.2. Appropriative pronouns

The appropriative pronouns, too, are substituting a noun, but since they function in a specific situation we treat them as a separate group. These pronouns are used to substitute the head noun in a genitive construction. Consequently, they are always followed by a determining noun or pronoun. If the following determiner is a pronoun, it is the bound, relational pronoun, unless it is the interrogative pronoun ḡa 'who' which is a separate word. The appropriative pronouns consist of the following parts (there is no distinction for position):

appropriative pronoun = agreement marker + -uu

This produces the following set:

class	sg	pl
1	wuu	cuu
2	fuū	cuu
3	muu	cuu
4	kuu	tuu
5	puu	tuu
6	juu	tuu
animate	yuu	ḡuu

The pronoun substitutes the noun as follows:

yoon 'field' (C1)

enoh 'cow' (C2)

1. Yoon-ii, wuu ɓa? 'Whose is the field (here)?'
field-DEF APPR who
2. Wuu Maalik. '(It is) Maalik's.'
APPR Maalik.
3. Wuu-roo. '(It is) mine.'
APPR-REL(1sg)
4. Enoh-faa faa, fuu Bañ-e? 'The cow over there, is it Bañ's?'
cow-DEF DEM APPR Bañ-PQ
5. Ó'óo. Fuu-ríi. 'No, it is ours.'
no APPR-REL(1pl.EXCL)

2.4.1.3. Determining pronouns

In 2.3., we described different nominals that may determine the noun. We also stated that all these determiners may have a pronominal function, as well as determinative. In a pronominal function, the determiner still refers to the implicit noun by the agreement marker (present in the attributive prefix or as an initial consonant). The determining pronouns may thus be:

demonstrative

adjective

quantifier

interrogative

The following remarks can be made on these groups of determiners when they appear in a pronominal function:

- The demonstratives (except the locative demonstrative) occur as subject only, except where they constitute a whole clause, in answers and in polar questions.
- The locative demonstrative, with the agreement marker d-, only occurs in pronominal function, as a locative adjunct.

Examples:

implicit noun

determining pronoun

1. dëk 'village' (C1) Wii mor-in. 'This (village) is nice.'
DEM be.nice-PERF
2. jowu 'young girl' (C5) Mi hot-ta ji-yín-jaa. 'I saw the small one (young girl).'
I see-NARR ATTR-small-DEF
3. yaal 'man' (C1.A) Banak hay-uunun. 'Two (men) have come.'
two come-PERF(pl)
4. kedik 'tree' (C4) Fu laak tera? 'How many do you have?'
you(sg) have how.many

locative demonstrative as adjunct

5. Mi hot-ta-ri daa-ma. 'I saw him/her there.'
I see-NARR-OBJ(3sg) DEM.LOC-REF

2.4.1.4. Emphatic pronouns

The emphatic pronoun is something of a hybrid. It may have a pronominal or determinative function referring to a noun, but also to a whole preceding clause. The emphatic pronoun is also used for marking a part of a clause for focus. The structure of the emphatic pronoun is as follows:

emphatic pronoun = agreement marker + -ëri¹

The agreement marker refers to the determined head of the NP, or to a whole clause (see below).

As determiner:

When functioning as a determiner, the emphatic pronoun occurs in a phrase final position to emphasise the whole NP in the clause. Unlike other determiners, the emphatic pronoun may also determine a pronoun. If the pronoun is allocutive, i.e. 1sg/pl or 2sg/pl, and not linked to a specific noun class, the agreement marker is the animate y-/b-, as in example 1 below. The NP that is determined by an emphatic pronoun occurs only clause initially; either as subject, or as a fronted NP, as in example 2 (see 10.4.1.).

As independent pronoun:

As a head of an NP, the emphatic pronoun refers back to the closest preceding NP, or it may be a proform, referring to the preceding clause. Here, as in a determinative function, the emphatic pronoun shows agreement with the noun or the pronoun it determines. If it refers to a whole clause, the pronoun takes the agreement marker k-. This may be explained by the fact that it is the action of the clause that is emphasised, and the nominalised infinitive is always class 4 (k-). Furthermore, this pronoun, këri, with the verb tah 'cause', expresses a more general signification of 'that is why, therefore' as a response to the question why (as in example 5). When the emphatic pronoun functions as the head of a NP, it always appears in subject position.

Examples with the emphatic pronouns:

¹The pronoun could be interpreted as a fused compound of the pronoun (e.g. ya) and a suffix -ri, which induces vowel harmony in the pronoun: yëri. However, the morpheme -ri is not known in other usages.

1. Mi yě́rí ínoh.

'I'm the one who knows.'

I P.EMPH know

2. Kodu yě́rí mi hot.

'It is Kodu that I saw.'

Kodu P.EMPH I see

3. Kudewaa wě́rí wěń ki-soos wati.

'It was in the past that it was colder than today.'

past P.EMPH COMP INF-cold today

4. Paam-búu yě́rí wos-ee-roo gë-rúu.

'It was your father who sent me to you.'

father-REL(2pl) P.EMPH send-PAST-OBJ(1sg) to-OBJ(2pl)

5. Wútúwaa tow-ee-ra. Kě́rí tah mi hay-yii.

'Yesterday it rained. Therefore I didn't

come.'

yesterday rain-PAST-PUNCT P.EMPH cause I come-ASP.NEG

2.4.2. Non-agreement pronouns

2.4.2.1. Allocutive pronouns

The term *allocutive* is taken from the terminology of Houis (1977), where he claims that, because of the noun class system affecting the 3rd person in several African languages, it is more relevant to make this distinction between allocutive and substitutive, than between personal and non-personal pronouns. This distinction seems to be valid for Noon. Thus, the reason to make the distinction of allocutive pronouns is based both on the function and the structure of these pronouns. Functionally, unlike the substitutive pronouns, the allocutive ones do not replace a noun in the discourse, but they refer only to the participants of dialogues. Structurally, the allocutive pronouns do not contain an agreement marker, as do the agreement pronouns.

The allocutive pronouns are the following:

	sg		pl	
1	mi	'I'	dĩ	'we (exclusive)'
			đu	'we (inclusive)'
2	fu	'you'	đú	'you'

Reflecting the roles of the participants in the communication, we could present the pronouns as referring to the speaker, hearer or both (inclusive):

	speaker	speaker/hearer	hearer
sg	mi		fu
pl	dĩ	đu	đú

The allocutive pronoun functions as the head of a nominal phrase, where it occurs alone or determined by an emphatic pronoun. In the NP, it functions only as the subject of the clause. The function of complement, corresponding to these subject pronouns, is carried out by the bound object pronouns (2.4.3.).

The allocutive pronoun can also function independently, as the sole constituent of a clause, in certain situations such as answers or polar questions. In this prepausal position when the allocutive pronoun is stressed, the pronoun may be followed by a fricative [h]. This sound is not phonemic, and it disappears when the pronoun is followed by another morpheme, such as the polar question suffix -e.

1. 'Bii hay ɓa? 'Who came?'

P.I come who

2. Mi. [mlh] 'I (did)'
I

3. Fu-n-e? '(Did) you?'
you(sg)-N-PQ

When occurring independently with the polar question suffix (which here entails a nasal insertion), there is an irregularity for the plural allocutive pronouns in that the vowel is lengthened.

Dfi-n-e? Duu-n-e? Dúu-n-e?
'We (EXCL)?' 'We (INCL)?' 'You(pl)?'

2.4.2.2. Indefinite pronouns

The indefinite pronoun replaces a NP of which the noun is unknown or unspecified. There are three such pronouns in Noon, two of them originally being nouns with a general meaning that is used in this function. The indefinite pronouns are

ĩñii 'this (thing)'
yen 'something'
ɓii 'this (person)'

lñii - this (thing)

The underlying noun of this pronoun is ĩñ 'thing', the pronoun being its definite form and occurring with all three definite suffixes, both in the singular and plural:

iĩii	-	iĩcii
iĩum	-	iĩcum
iĩaa	-	iĩcaa

The referential suffix -ma occurs especially on the forms of positions 2 and 3 (iĩuma/incuma and iĩaama/iĩcaama). The pronoun has three major functions²:

- a) as **subject** or object of the clause, representing an unknown noun or broad notion
- b) as the formal subject of a non-verbal clause
- c) as the formal subject of a question with the interrogative ya 'what' referring to the subject (this is described and exemplified at 2.4.2.5.).

a) As a subject, the pronoun functions in the same way as a demonstrative pronoun that appears independently, but it refers to something unknown or general, rather than to a specific noun. This is exemplified in example 1, where the thing that is going to be given is still unknown to the receiver, and therefore referred to by the indefinite pronoun. As seen above, the demonstrative pronoun cannot occur independently in an object position. However, in order to give a demonstrative feature to an object pronoun, the indefinite iĩaa is used, as in example 2 below. In both subject and object functions, the pronoun often bears the suffix -ma:

1. Mi hay-yaa ki-'e' yen. Iĩaa-ma atukoh-s-i na miis.

I will(AUX)-OBJ(2sg) INF-give something P.I-REF mix-PASS-HAB with milk

'I will give you something. That (thing) should be mixed with milk.'

2. Mi hot-in iĩaa-ma. 'I have seen this.'

I see-PERF P.I-REF

²Note that both iĩaa and ḡaa are also used as relative pronouns (see 2.4.2.3.).

b) In non-verbal clauses, iñii functions as the formal subject where the semantic subject follows as the complement. In this position, it is followed by a progressive particle, but normally the progressive particle has merged into one with the pronoun.

3. Iñii (<iñii yii) oomaa. 'This is a child.'

P.I PROG child

4. Iñcii (<iñcii cii) boh. 'These are baobabs.'

P.I PROG baobab

When referred to by other pronouns, e.g. by the bound object pronoun as in example 5 below, or by nominals, iñii/iñum/iñaa is referred to as an animate, singular noun. This means that in determiners and agreement pronouns, the agreement marker is that of the animate nouns/pronouns, y-, both for iñii and for yen, even if what they denote is not animate.

5. Iñaa fu wo' da, mi keloh-hii-rj. 'What you say, I don't understand it.'

P.REL you say REL.M I understand-ASP.NEG-OBJ(3sg)

6. Mi e'-taa yen yiliis. 'I give you something else.'

I give-OBJ(2sg) something other

Yen - something

The usage of yen is restricted to the object function of the clause. When the notion of 'something' is to be expressed as the subject, a construction with the verb laak 'have, exist' and a relative clause with the relative pronoun iñaa has to be used. This construction is also interchangeable with yen in the object position.

7. Mi lom-ba yen ga marsi. 'I bought something at the market.'

I buy-NARR something at market

8. Laak-in iñaa mi lom ga marsi. 'There is something that I bought at the market.'

exist-PERF P.REL I buy at market

Bii - this (person)

Bii comes from the noun bo' (see 2.2.5.3.) which signifies 'individual, person' and which is used as a noun in that sense, or in the impersonal sense of 'one'. It is the singular, definite forms of this noun that can be described as an indefinite pronoun. This pronoun is a contraction of the noun and the definite suffix (C1):

bo' + -ii bii

bo' + -um bum

bo' + -aa baa

As a note, we can recall that the plural, definite forms of the noun bo' are quite irregular, and do not show a plural class marker. Also, in the indefinite form, bo', there is no distinction between singular and plural, but the same form is used for both³. Note that most nouns have the same form for the singular and plural indefinite. The forms for the definite plural of bo' are:

buwii

buwum

buwaa

³There is a possibility, however, to form an indefinite plural, bibo', by the prefix bi-, as is described in 2.2.5.1.

As a noun, bo or the plural definite buwii can occur both as subject and object, with the meaning of 'someone', 'one' in an impersonal sense, or as plural 'people'.

9. 'Bo' mín ki-wo' an: 'One/Someone can say like this.'
people/one can(AUX) INF-say COMPL

10. Mi hot-ta bo' ga luuf-aa. 'I saw someone in the forest.'
I see-NARR person in forest-DEF

11. 'Buwaa en na ki-ka' bílím-aa. 'The people are on their way to the dance feast.'
people be(AUX) with INF-go dance.feast-DEF

As an indefinite pronoun, in the singular, definite form of the noun, ḡii etc., it has the same function as the indefinite pronoun iñii, in the following positions, with the difference of its reference being animate:

- a) as the formal subject of a non-verbal clause
- b) as the formal subject of a question with the interrogation ḡa 'who', referring to the subject (see 2.4.2.5.).

Following ḡii in the non-verbal clause, the progressive particle can be separate.

12. 'Bii yii Kodu. 'This is Kodu.'
P.I PROG Kodu

2.4.2.3. Relative pronouns

A relative clause in Noon may refer to its antecedent in different ways. If the antecedent occurs immediately preceding the relative clause, there need not be a relative pronoun to introduce the clause. However, if the antecedent is distant from the relative clause, or

if it is implied or unspecified (i.e. unknown to the speaker), the relative clause is introduced by a relative pronoun. The relative pronouns, that can introduce the relative clause in Noon, are:

- agreement relative pronouns, if the antecedent and its noun class is known
- indefinite relative pronouns, if the antecedent is unknown and specified only as being animate or inanimate
- the adverbial relative pronoun

- The agreement relative pronouns are identical with the progressive particles (7.2.1.).

Similarly, they show a three-term position distinction. The forms are the following (the C denoting the agreement marker):

Cii near speaker

Cum near hearer

Caa distant

These pronouns may function as the subject or object of the relative clause.

1. Ya d̥ewoh ga yaa ɓa tan-ee ki-en ha'-d̥ək ɗa

s/he start at P.REL they choose-PAST INF-be chief-village REL.M

'S/he started with him whom they had chosen to be the village chief.'

2. 'Ba tan kaan-faa faa t̥ik-an cuunoh. 'They choose the house that will cook lunch.'

they choose house-DEF P.REL cook-FUT lunch

3. Mi yii ga ɛ́gír-aa ɗa,...

'I who am in the wilderness,...'

I P.REL in wilderness-DEF REL.M

- The indefinite relative pronouns occur when the antecedent is unspecified for other features than the animate/inanimate distinction. They are identical with the indefinite pronouns:

iĩii/iĩum/iĩaa unspecified inanimate

ḡii/ḡum/ḡaa unspecified inanimate

iĩii and ḡii function as the subject or the object of the relative clause, whenever the antecedent is unspecified or unknown, e.g. in questions or expressions such as 'anything/anyone'.

4. Fu wo'-'ii-roo iĩaa hay ki-laak ḡa. 'You haven't told me what is going to happen.'
you(sg) say-ASP.NEG-OBJ(1sg) P.REL will(AUX) INF-come REL.M

5. Bii waa' ḡa mĩn na-ruu ki-ñam. 'Anyone who wants to may eat with us.'
P.REL want REL.M. can(AUX) with-OBJ(1pl.INCL) INF-eat

6. Fu tum iĩaa fu waa' ḡa 'You do as you like.'
you(sg) do P.REL you want REL.M.

7. Wo'-aa-roo ḡaa fu haan ki-hot ḡa! 'Tell me whom you just saw!'
say-IMP-OBJ(1sg) P.REL you(sg) have.just(AUX) INF-see REL.M.

- Finally, the adverbial relative pronoun refers to a locative object or to an adverbial antecedent:

dii/daa - locative / adverbial

In the relative clause, dii replaces the locative NP object or the NP in a locative adjunct. But the adjunct referred to by dii is not only the locative⁴, but also temporal and manner adjuncts. When referring to these adjuncts, dii replaces the whole adjunct, not only the NP (see also 10.4.2.3.).

8. Meekis-aa ee-fu dii enoh-cii biy' kúlkoh dā!

ask-IMP mother-REL(2sg) P.REL cows-DEF DEM originate REL.M.

'Ask your mother where these cows came from!'

9. Mi ka'-ta luuf-aa fodaa daa fu lēdíroh-ee-roo dā.

I go-NARR forest-DEF as P.REL you(sg) advise-PAST-OBJ(1sg) REL.M

'I went to the forest, as you told me.'

2.4.2.4. Negative pronouns

The negative pronouns always occur in a double negative, with a negated verb, except when they appear as the sole constituent of the clause. There are three pronouns;

dara 'nothing'

ken 'nobody'

fen 'nowhere'

Dara 'nothing':

This pronoun is the most general of the negative pronouns, and it replaces an inanimate noun or pronoun. Dara functions both as the subject and as the object of the clause. However, in a subject position, a construction with the verb laak 'have, exist' would be more common, as shown in example 1 below.

⁴Note that d- is a locative agreement marker.

1. Dara paal-oo ga luuf-aa. 'Nothing grows in the forest.'

Nothing grow-PRES.NEG in forest-DEF

(or Laak-oo iña paal ga luuf-aa. 'There isn't anything that grows in the forest.')

exist-PRES.NEG P.REL grow in forest-DEF

2. Mi keloh-oo dara. 'I don't understand anything.'

I understand-PRES.NEG nothing

3. Búumír-aa hot-oo dara. 'The blind sees nothing (at all).'

blind-DEF see-PRES.NEG nothing

4. Dara! 'Nothing!'

Ken 'nobody'

Ken replaces an animate noun or pronoun, both in subject and object positions.

5. Ken ñam-oo atoh. 'Nobody eats stones.'

nobody eat-PRES.NEG stones

6. Mi hot-tii ken. 'I saw nobody.'

I see-ASP.NEG nobody

Both dara and ken can be used in a specific semantic situation, where the usage differs from the above. The situation is a question where the negative pronoun is used with an affirmative verb. The result is a question expecting an affirmative answer.

7. Fu lom-in dara-n-e? 'Haven't you bought anything?!'

you(sg) buy-PERF nothing-N-PQ

8. Fu hot-in ken-e? 'Haven't you seen anybody?'

you(sg) see-PERF nobody-PQ

Fen 'nowhere'

Fen replaces the noun or pronoun of a **NP** or a **PP** functioning as locative object/adjunct.

9. Mi ka'-tii fen. 'I haven't gone anywhere.'

I leave-ASP.NEG nowhere

2.4.2.5. Interrogative pronouns

The interrogative pronouns, that replace or refer to a noun, are the following⁵:

ya 'what'

fa 'who'

gada 'where'⁶

Unlike the interrogative determiners (see 2.3.4.), which may also have a pronominal function, these pronouns do not determine a noun in the **NP**, but occur independently, referring to a constituent of the clause. The pronouns ya and fa refer to the subject or object of the clause, while gada may refer to a locative object or an adjunct. The general order of the constituents in the clause is the following:

⁵The interrogative 'why' is expressed by ya and the verb tah, as is described under the usage of ya.

⁶Although the interrogative gada 'where' may refer to a **PP**, it is primarily replacing a locative noun (see 6.2.2.2.)

subject - predicate - object - adjunct

The interrogative pronoun is always in a post-predicative position. If the pronoun refers to an object or an adjunct, it occurs in the same position as this constituent. When referring to a subject, the place of the constituent has to be filled by a projection; a formal subject. This position is filled by an indefinite pronoun (iñii or ḡii), and the interrogative pronoun comes in clause final position, as in examples 1-3 below. This is also the pattern if the clause is non-verbal.

Ya - 'what'

The interrogative pronoun ya can refer to a subject, an object or to a noun in a prepositional phrase. When the question concerns the subject, the position of the subject is filled by the indefinite pronoun iñii 'this (thing)'. This is the case when expressing the question 'why'. Here, a whole clause is used to express the question, either alone, as in example 1, or in a complex clause, as in example 2.

Referring to the subject:

1. iñii tah ya? 'What is the reason (Why)?'

P.I cause what

2. iñii tah ya fu hay-yii? 'Why didn't you come?'

P.I cause what you(sg) come-ASP.NEG

3. iñii yii ya? 'What is it?'

P.I PROG what

Referring to the object:

4. Fu laak ya? 'What do you have?' (What's wrong with you?)'
you(sg) have what

5. Ba tum ya? 'What are they doing?'
they do what

Referring to a noun in a PP:

6. Ya ñam-oh na ya? 'With what does he eat?'
s/he eat-INSTR with what

Referring to the whole proposition:

7. Ya? 'What?'

Semantically, the interrogative ya can also refer to the predicate although, formally, it refers to the object. The following question can thus be understood as referring to the action (as in the first answer) or the object of the action (as in the second answer):

8. Fu tum ya? 'What are you doing/making?'
you(sg) do what

- Mi yii tík. 'I'm cooking.'

I PROG cook

- Mi tík haawu. 'I make couscous.'

I cook couscous

Ba - 'who'

The interrogative ba functions in the same positions as ya, but refers to animate nouns in the NP or PP. It also occurs as the determining noun in a genitive construction with the appropriative pronoun. When referring to a subject, the indefinite pronoun bii 'someone/this (person)' functions as the formal subject (as in examples 9,10). When there are two objects in the clause, the interrogative pronoun fills the position of the direct object (ex. 12), and for an indirect object if the following direct object is implied and omitted (ex. 13). If both objects need to be stated, however, the direct object will remain and the indirect one will be expressed in a separate PP with ga. Normally, this will also entail a change in the verb to decrease its valency, which is most often done by the durative suffix -oh (see also 6.2.3.). This shows that it is preferable for the interrogative ba, as for other interrogatives, to occur clause finally or, at least, not to be followed by another object.

Referring to the subject:

9. Bii en ba? 'Who is that?'

P.I be who

10. Bii hot-ee Marsel ba? 'Who saw Marcel?'

P.I see-PAST Marcel who

Referring to the object:

11. Fu hot-ee ba? 'Whom did you see?'

you(sg) see-PAST who

12. Ya on-da-ti ya? 'What did s/he give to him/her?'

s/he give-NARR-I.OBJ(3sg) what

13. Ya on-da ɓa? 'Whom did she give (it) to?'

s/he give-NARR I.OBJ

Referring to the noun of the PP:

14. ʔa wo¹-¹a na ɓa? 'Whom did they speak to?'

they speak-NARR with who

Referring to the determining noun of a genitive construction:

15. Baay-fii fuu ɓa núp-in? 'Whose dog has run away?'

dog-DEF APPR who escape-PERF

16. Yaal-ii yuu ɓa? 'Whose husband?'

man-DEF APPR who

Referring to the whole proposition:

17. ʔa? 'Who?'

Gada - 'where'

This interrogative refers either to a locative object (see 6.2.2.2.) or to an adjunct. It occurs in the position of the corresponding constituent in the clause.

Referring to a locative object:

18. Fu dëk gada? 'Where do you live?'

you(sg) live where

19. Kodu ka¹ gada? 'Where did Kodu go?'

Kodu go where

The interrogative here would in both cases be answered by a locative noun, not an adjunct. In examples 3 and 4 below, however, the interrogative is replaced by an adjunct (PP):

20. Fu hot-ta-ri gada? 'Where did you see him?'

you(sg) see-NARR-OBJ(3sg) where

21. Ya lom-ee piis-ii wii gada? 'Where did s/he buy this material?'

s/he buy-PAST material-DEF DEM where

In the examples above, gada occurs in verbal clauses. When functioning in a non-verbal clause, the interrogative pronoun merges with the progressive particle, which shows agreement with the subject of the clause. The result of the merger is a loss of the long vowel of the progressive particle, and of the g- in gada.

yaa + gada → yada

waa + gada → wada etc.

22. Mati yada (< yaa gada)? 'Where is Mati?'

Mati PROG where

23. Hēelís-aa wada (< waa gada) 'Where is the money?'

money-DEF PROG where

24. Tohoo-taa-garaa tada (< taa gada)? 'Where is your millet?'

millet-DEF-POSS(2sg) PROG where

25. Kataa-kaa kada (< kaa gada)? 'Where is the calabash?'

calabash-DEF PROG where

2.4.3. Bound pronouns

As mentioned, a bound pronoun is obligatorily attached to a head as a suffix, and therefore treated in the morphology of that head as well. The reason to treat these as suffixes rather than free pronouns lies in the morphophonological changes taking place at the morpheme boundaries. More specifically, the phoneme r- that occurs morpheme initially in the majority of the suffixes, is assimilated with a previous consonant.

There are three sets of bound pronouns: animate object, possessive and relational pronouns. They contain seven items each, but there is a lot of similarity between the sets. However, since the three sets occur in different functions, we treat them separately. A common feature is that all bound pronouns are animate. For the object pronouns, the [-animate] counterparts are free pronouns (see Substitutive pronouns 2.4.1.1.), whereas the possessive and relational pronouns only occur as animate. It is very uncommon for an inanimate noun to act as the subject of possession or relation, but when it happens, the noun has to be personalised, and the 3rd person possessive or relational pronoun is used to represent it. The three sets are as follows:

person		animate object pronouns	possessive pronouns	relational pronouns
sg	1	-roo	-goo	-roo
	2	-raa	-garaa	-fu
	3	-ri	-gari	-ci
pl	1 excl	-ríi	-gëríi	-ríi
	1 incl	-ruu	-garuu	-ruu
	2	-rúu	-gërúu	-rúu
	3	-ḡa	-gaḡa	-ḡa

The animate object pronouns

These object pronouns occur in two different position:

a) suffixed to a finite verb in one of the following situations:

- to a transitive verb
- to the auxiliary of a transitive verb
- to a stative verb to express the semantic subject of an emotion or opinion, concerning the state (see also 8.1.1.2.)

b) with the prepositions *na* 'with' and *ga* 'to, at'

a) As a verb suffix, the object pronoun occurs after the derivational and conjugational suffixes.

1. *Mi hot-in-daa.* 'I have seen you.'

I see-PERF-OBJ(2sg)

2. *Dí waa'-túu ki-tee6.* 'We (excl) want to show you.'

we.EXCL want(AUX)-OBJ(2pl) INF-show

3. *Feet-ii newin-doo.* 'The party is nice to me.' (i.e.: 'I like the party.')

feast-DEF be.nice-PERF-OBJ(1sg)

b) When suffixed to the prepositions *ga* and *na*, the [+ATR] vowels that occur in some of the object pronouns, induce vowel harmony in the vowel of the preposition (although this change is not represented in the orthography).

4. *Ya saawal-in na-ba.* 'He has talked to them.'

s/he talk-PERF with-OBJ(3pl)

5. Kuwisaa, fu hay ga-ríi [g«riù]. 'Tomorrow, you'll come to us.'

tomorrow you(sg) come to-OBJ(1pl.EXCL)

The possessive pronouns (see also 2.2.5.4.)

As seen in the list above, the possessive pronouns are actually formed by the object pronouns following the preposition ga, except in the 1sg, where the ga and -roo have merged into -goo. The possessive pronouns function in the possessive construction of all nouns, except for the singular of the relational nouns. It is always preceded by a definite suffix.

6. yoon-ii-goo 'my field'

field-DEF-POSS(1sg)

7. towu-taa-gari 'his/her children'

children-DEF-POSS(3sg)

The relational pronouns (see also 2.2.5.5.)

The relational pronouns are identical to the object pronouns in all but two forms; 2 and 3 sg. However, their functional distribution differs considerably. The relational pronoun occurs in three environments:

a) In a relation construction, suffixed to the singular form of the relational nouns (see Nouns 2.2.1., subclass 2), in order to express a relation between two, normally animate, beings.

b) Suffixed to the appropriative pronouns

c) Suffixed to the quantifiers haŋ- 'alone' and ḃéeḃ- 'all'.

a) In the relation construction, the pronoun only occurs with relational nouns in the singular, and it is suffixed directly to the noun root. (In the plural, the relational nouns are suffixed by the possessive pronouns, as described above).

- | | |
|-------------|-------------------|
| 8. beti-roo | 'my wife' |
| 9. paam-ci | 'his/her father.' |

b) When the relational pronoun occurs with the appropriative pronoun, these two form an independent possessive pronoun. Suffixed to the appropriative pronoun, the relational pronoun represents the possessor of the noun, or the one in relation with the noun determined by the appropriative pronoun.

- | | |
|-----------------|--------------------------------|
| implicit noun | independent possessive pronoun |
| 10. mangoo (C1) | wuu-roo . 'mine (my mango)' |
| 11. enoh (C2) | fuu-fu 'yours (your cow)' |

c) Suffixed to the quantifiers haŋ- 'alone' and ḡééḡ- 'all', the relational pronoun marks the agreement between the quantified noun and the quantifier. Haŋ- only occurs with this suffix, and ḡééḡ- appears in a collective function when suffixed by the plural relational pronouns.

12. Mi kar-in haŋ-goo. 'I went alone.'
 I go-PERF alone-REL(1sg)

13. Dí hay-ee ḡééḡ-píi (< ríi). 'We (EXCL) all came. / We came together.'
 we.EXCL come-PAST all-REL(1pl.EXCL)

3. THE NOUN PHRASE

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3.2.4. Emphatic pronouns and particles

3.3. The complex NP

3.3.1. The complex NP with an appositive NP

3.3.2. The complex NP with a co-ordinating expansion

The noun phrase (NP) is the construction in which a noun is the head. On clause level, the NP can function either as subject or as fronted theme (10.4.1.). On all other occasions, the NP functions as part of another clause constituent. The NP may occur in the following functions within a phrase (PP, NP or VP):

- as second part of a complex prepositional phrase (PP)
- as a genitive modifier of a NP
- as an appositive modifier of the NP
- as a co-ordinative modifier of the NP
- as a complement in the verb phrase: either as a locative object (6.2.2.2.) or as a patient object (6.2.2.1.) which may be direct or indirect (6.2.3.).

In this chapter we will first look at the basic structure of the simple NP, then on the post-modification that is possible within the NP. Finally, the complex NP will be described.

3.1. The simple NP

The simple NP consists minimally of one single element which can be either a noun or a noun substitute, such as a pronoun or a determiner with pronominal function. The noun may be a simple or a compound noun, always with only one class marker. As mentioned earlier, only the pronoun is marked for case: in the subject position we find the allocutive pronouns (2.4.2.1.) or the substitutive subject pronouns (2.4.1.1.), whereas the object function is filled by the animate object pronoun suffixes (2.4.3.), or the substitutive object pronouns (2.4.1.1.). A determiner with a pronominal function bears the agreement marker of the co-referential noun.

1. Towu-taa hay-uunun. 'The children have come.'
children-DEF come-PERF(pl)

2. Ba hay-in. 'They have come.'
they come-PERF

3. Ti-yín-taa hay-uunun. 'The small ones have come.'
ATTR-small-DEF come-PERF(pl)

3.2. NP post-modification

The head noun in the NP can be modified by the following expansions, which all occur in post-head position:

1. a genitive construction
2. determiner(s):
 - 2.1. demonstratives
 - 2.2. adjectives
 - 2.3. quantifiers
 - 2.4. interrogatives

3. a relative clause

4. an emphatic pronoun or particle

When the NP contains a post-modification, the head of the NP is generally a noun. The occasions when pronouns can be modified are the following:

- relative pronouns that are expanded by a relative clause.
- all pronouns may be determined by the non-numeral quantifiers and emphatic particles
- allocutive pronouns can be modified by an emphatic pronoun
- appropriative pronouns are modified by a possessor noun/pronoun

All modifiers are postpositioned to the noun, and internally they can be presented as occurring in the following, general order:¹

noun

(+ genitive NP)

(+ determiner(s))

(+ relative clause)

(+ determiner(s)²)

(+ emphatic particle/pronoun)

It is possible for a noun to be modified by several types of expansions at the same time, as in the example below, where the noun is modified by a genitive construction, a numeral, an adjective and a relative clause:

¹Note that some determiners occur preceding a relative clause, while others follow it.

²Interrogative determiners occur in the same position as the emphatic particles/pronouns, as will be dealt with below.

Pēnís-cii Samba ḡanak-ḡii ḡi-yaak-ḡii, en-u na ki-fool ḡa,...

horses-DEF Samba(GEN) two-DEF ATTR-big-DEF be-PLUR with INF-run REL.M

'Samba's two big horses that are running..'

3.2.1. The genitive construction

The genitive construction consists of the head noun followed by a genitive, modifying NP, giving the order of possessed - possessor.

noun + NP_{gen}
(possessed) (possessor)

In describing the genitive construction, we will first look at the different types of genitive that are possible in Noon. Consequently, the head noun and then the genitive NP will be analysed. Finally, there is a different type of genitive, a partitive genitive, which will be treated separately.

3.2.1.1. Types of genitive

The genitive types that are found in Noon are the following:

- possessive genitive
- relational genitive
- subjective genitive

The distinction between the possessive and relational genitive is dealt with in 2.2.5.4. and 2.2.5.5. where the use of relational versus possessive pronoun suffixes is described. These two constructions are further elaborated in 3.2.1.2.

The subjective genitive is formed by a noun or a nominalised infinitive as the main noun, and the subject of the action as the genitive noun:

1. ki-wēt-kaa Mati 'Mati's departure' (ki-wēt 'to depart')
2. lëgëy-aa yaal-caa 'the men's work' (ki-lëgëy 'to work')

Objective genitive does not exist, and in expressions such as 'the hare-chase' the object must be preceded by verbal construction.

Apart from these three types, the genitive construction can also be said to operate in other contexts to express the following types:

- descriptive genitive
- genitive of origin
- genitive of material

These genitives are also expressed by direct juxtaposition, as the previous types, but they differ in that the nouns involved will not keep their independent status, but form a compound noun (see 2.2.3.). This means that in the indefinite form they will occur without definite suffixes, as the relational genitive above, but when put in a definite form, they will take one single definite suffix according to the noun class of the head noun (i.e. the first component):

Indefinite

3. kulti-ḡeti 'women's clothes'
clothes-women

4. miis-'enoh 'cow's milk'
milk-cow

5. mbúus-'on 'bags of skin'
bags-skin

Definite

kulti-ḡeti-caa 'the clothes for women'
clothes-women-DEF

miis-'enoh-maa 'the cow's milk'
milk-cow-DEF

mbúus-'on-caa 'the bags of skin'
bags-skin-DEF

Thus, in order to express example 5 as a possessive genitive; 'the clothes of the women', both nouns would need to bear a definite suffix:

6. kulti-caa beti-caa

clothes-DEF women-DEF

3.2.1.2. The head noun in the genitive construction

The function of this genitive NP is parallel with that of the possessive and relational pronoun suffixes that occur with the nouns. This implies that the same structural differences observed in the different subclasses of nouns are apparent in the genitive construction. As we have seen (2.2.5.4.), the nouns of subclass 1 (common nouns and the plural of the relational nouns) always occur in their definite forms when followed by a possessive pronoun:

1. yoon-aa-gari 'his/her field'

field-DEF-POSS(3sg)

2. baay-caa-goo 'my dogs'

dogs-DEF-POSS(1sg)

3. paamun-caa-gaḡa 'their fathers'

fathers-DEF-POSS(3pl)

Parallellly, as the head of the genitive NP construction the common noun always occurs in its definite form:

4. yoon-aa Paati 'Paati's field'

field-DEF Paati

5. paamun-caa towu-taa 'the children's fathers'

fathers-DEF children-DEF

In contrast to the common noun, we saw that relational nouns in the singular occur in their root forms when suffixed by a relational pronoun (see 2.2.5.5.):

6. beti 'woman' beti-ci 'his wife'

woman-REL(3sg)

7. húnísmun 'friend' húnís-soo 'my friend'

friend-REL(1sg)

Consequently, the relational nouns in the function of head noun of a genitive NP construction also appear in their root form:

8. beti Paati 'Paati's wife'

woman Paati

9. húnís yaak-koo 'my older sibling's friend'

friend older.sibling-REL(1sg)

A pronoun as head of genitive construction:

If the head noun is replaced by a pronoun, it is the appropriative pronoun Cuu that acts as head of the genitive construction.

10. beti Paati → yuu Paati 'Paati's (wife)'

11. yoonii yaakkoo → wuu yaakkoo 'my older sibling's (field)'

3.2.1.3. The genitive NP in the genitive construction

The noun of the genitive NP, the possessor noun, has the following realisations, which occur with the head noun of the genitive construction being either a common or a relational noun:

- If the possessor noun is a common noun, it normally occurs in its definite form.

1. fay-aa kaan-faa 'the payment of the house'
payment-DEF house-DEF

2. kot-caa pe'faa 'the feet of the goat'
feet-DEF goat-DEF

It is possible for the possessor noun to appear in its indefinite form (i.e. root form) as in the following:

3. túuy-aa ya'bu 'an old woman's hut'
hut-DEF old.woman

but it is more common for the same notion to be expressed by the definite construction or by a compound noun.

4. túuy-aa ya'bu-aa 'the old woman's hut' (= a generic "old woman's hut")
hut-DEF old.woman-DEF

5. túuy-ya'bu 'an old woman's-hut' (= any old woman's hut)
hut-old.woman

Note that the compound noun in example 5, when given a definite form, will take only one definite suffix: the one of the head noun (see 2.2.3.):

6. túuy-ya'ḡ-aa 'the old woman's-hut'

hut-old.woman-DEF

Here, the head noun and the possessor noun belong to the same noun class (1) and it is therefore impossible to see which noun determines the definite suffix. In the following example, however, it is obvious that it is the definite suffix of the head noun sareet (C1) which occurs in the compound noun, and not the suffix of the possessor noun (C2):

7. sareet-pēnís 'a horse-cart'

cart(C1sg)-horse(C2sg)

8. sareet-pēnís-aa 'the horse-cart'

cart-horse-DEF(C1sg)

- If the possessor noun is a relational noun, it often carries a relational suffix, to define it in relation to one of the participants of the discourse or one of the interlocutors.

9. ḡeti yaak-ci 'his/her older brother's wife'

woman older.sibling-REL(3sg)

10. kēwdīr-aa ḡeti-roo 'my wife's pot'

pot-DEF woman-REL(1sg)

- The possessor noun may also be a proper noun, which naturally occurs without any suffix.

11. ḡeti Paati 'Paati's wife'

The genitive NP may be of any of the NP types listed above, and consequently it may have its own modifiers. A possessor noun may be modified by its own genitive NP which is directly juxtaposed:

12. kowu yaak Mati 'the child of Mati's older sibling'
child older.sibling(GEN1) Mati(GEN2)

If the genitive noun has its own determiners, these are distinguished from the determiners of the head noun by the agreement markers. In the following example, the adjective yaak 'big' bears the agreement marker (C2) that refers to the genitive noun kaan 'house':

13. hal-aa kaan-faa fi-yaak-faa 'the door of the big house'
door-DEF(C1sg) house-DEF(C2sg) ATTR(C2sg)-big-DEF(C2sg)

whereas in the following example, the adjective yo'oh 'red' refers to the head noun hal 'door' (C1):

14. hal-aa kaan-faa wi-yo'oh-waa 'the house's red door'
door-DEF(C1sg) house-DEF(C2) ATTR(C1sg)-red-DEF(C1sg)

On the other hand, the genitive NP is restricted in that it may not take a relative clause modification. Thus, if the genitive noun is followed by a relative clause, this normally refers to the head noun.³

15. Beti Paati mín ki-tík dā,... 'Paati's wife, who can cook,...'

woman Paati can(AUX) INF-cook REL.M

3.2.1.4. Partitive genitive

The partitive genitive differs from the constructions presented above on the following points:

- the head noun is indefinite (although it is not a relational noun)
- the possessor noun, which expresses measure, is indefinite and determined by a numeral

1. Lom-aa jën kiloo kanak! 'Buy two kilos of fish!'

buy-IMP fish kilo two

When the measure refers to money, the possessor noun is often left implicit, and the numeral alone signifies the amount. In these cases, it is the cultural code alone that decides if the number should be interpreted as referring to the money or to the item itself (since money, as well as most nouns, belong to class 1). It is true that in the majority of cases, the amount of an item is determined by its cost.

2. Lom-aa jën ci-daaŋkahkanak. 'Buy fish for 100(CFA)!'⁴ (= 5X20)

buy-IMP fish ATTR-twenty

³A relative clause modification of a possessor noun would need to be expressed in a separate clause.

⁴As in many francophone African cultures, money are counted on the base of the smallest coin, which is worth 5 CFA. Thus, in order to say 5 CFA, one says 'one (coin)'. Consequently, to express 100 CFA, one would say '20'.

3.2.2. Determiners

As we have seen (2.3.), the noun can be defined by the following determiners, which all occur in a post-head position:

demonstratives

adjectives

quantifiers

interrogatives

As described above, these determiners are in agreement with the noun, through the agreement marker present in the inflectional affixes of the adjectives and quantifiers (attributive and ordinal prefixes and the definite suffix), and in the initial consonant of the demonstratives and interrogatives. Among the determiners, the group of non-numeral quantifiers ('all', 'every', 'alone') do not function like other determiners, nor do they show agreement with the noun. Therefore, these determiners and their function in the NP will be treated separately from numeral quantifiers.

The order in which the determiners occur following the head noun is fixed to some extent, but it is also influenced by discourse features such as if the determiner denotes something new or known, inherent or temporary. There are also certain restrictions for the occurrence of the demonstrative, interrogative and emphatic determiners, as we shall see. However, the general order of the determiners following the noun is as follows:

noun (+ demonstrative) (+ adjective(s)) (+ numeral) (+ non-numeral) (+ interrogative)

These determiners and their function in the NP will be described in this order.

3.2.2.1. Demonstratives

Demonstrative determiners occur immediately following the noun on the condition that this appears in its definite form. The demonstrative shows agreement with the definite suffix of the noun, both with respect to noun class and to the position marker. As mentioned, though, the position marking of the demonstrative is more diversified than in other nominals. The fourth position only occurs with the demonstratives and thus both the third and the fourth positions of the demonstratives are in agreement with the third position in other nominals (see 2.3.1.):

noun-DEF + demonstrative

Examples:

1. waas-ii wii 'this road (near me)'
road-DEF DEM

2. kedik-kum kum ki-hoo'-kum 'that high tree (near you)'
tree-DEF DEM ATTR-high-DEF

3. kaan-faa fúu en na ki-tawah-u ḏa 'that house (distant) that is being built'
house-DEF(PO.3) DEM(PO.4) be(AUX) with INF-build-PASS REL.M

Normally, the demonstrative may only be separated from the noun by a genitive noun or when a gender adjective determines the noun (see below, 3.2.2.3.). It must be said, however, that these general rules may be overruled by specific emphasis and, for example, in some cases the demonstrative has been noted to follow a relative clause, entailing a change in emphasis. In this position, the demonstrative normally replaces the relative marker ḏa:

4. kaan-fii fii en na ki-tawah-u ḏa 'this house which is being built'

house-DEF DEM be(AUX) with INF-build-PASS REL.M

5. kaan-fii en na ki-tawah-u fii. 'this house which is being built'

house-DEF be(AUX) with INF-build-PASS DEM

3.2.2.2. Adjectives and numerals

Adjectives and numerals normally follow the demonstrative, if this is present, or otherwise the noun itself. They are in agreement with the noun both with respect to noun class and to the presence or absence of a definite suffix. In general, there are no restrictions for the occurrence of these determiners, except in a few cases.⁵ The order between adjectives and numerals seems to be quite loose, but there is a tendency to place the determiner giving the new information in a later position, thereby putting it in focus⁶. If there is no such distinction, the determiner describing a feature that is more inherent to the noun seems to appear closer to the noun, while the more temporary characteristics follow. Since inherent features are more likely to appear in adjectives, these could be said to generally precede numeral quantifiers. Examples:

1. waas wi-yak 'a big road'
road ATTR-big

2. waas kanak 'two roads'
roads two

3. waas-caa ci-yak-caa kanak-caa 'the two big roads'
roads-DEF ATTR-big-DEF two-DEF

4. waas-caa kanak-caa ci-yak-caa 'the two big roads'

⁵i.e. the gender and incremental adjectives which are dealt with in the following section

⁶the normal pattern for Noon being end-focus (see 10.4.2.)

roads-DEF two-DEF ATTR-big-DEF

5. enoh-cii cii ci-yaanaaw-cii ci-daŋkah-cii 'these ten white cows'

cow-DEF DEM ATTR-white-DEF ATTR-ten-DEF

3.2.2.3. Gender and incremental adjectives

The gender adjective (see also 2.3.2.2.1.), when it occurs, is always the first determiner to follow the noun. It may occur with either a definite or indefinite noun, but the gender adjective itself never appears with the definite suffix. Being the first determiner, it may even precede a demonstrative.

1. kowu-kii ki-βeti kii 'this girl'

child-DEF ATTR-female DEM

However, the gender adjective does not precede the genitive which is always immediately following after the head noun:

2. kēmēŋki Samba yi-βeti 'the little sister of Samba'

little.sibling Samba.GEN ATTR-female

The incremental adjective, Ciliis⁷ 'more/another of the same kind', generally follows other adjectives and numerals since it normally brings the newest information of the NP. The use of the incremental adjective is restricted in that it always occurs in the indefinite form, and always with an indefinite noun:

3. βeti βanak βiliis 'two other women'

⁷The C- represents the agreement marker with which the adjective shows agreement with the noun.

women two other

4. dək ci-yewin ciliis 'many other villages'

villages ATTR-many other

3.2.2.4. Non-numeral quantifiers (see also 2.3.3.3.)

The non-numeral quantifiers are the universal quantifier tóoh 'all', ḡééḡ which has both universal and distributive functions ('all', 'every'), and the restrictive quantifier haŋ 'only, alone'. The position of these differs from that of the numeral quantifiers. All non-numeral quantifiers may determine a noun but also any pronoun. When they occur in the NP, they are all found in the position following the relative clause rather than preceding it (as the numeral quantifiers). However, they precede interrogative and emphatic particles which always appear in a phrase final position.

Tóoh 'all' occurs as a determiner in the NP. The head noun may be a countable or an uncountable.

1. baay-caa tóoh 'all the dogs'

dogs-DEF all

2. baay-caa ci-sóotí'-caa en na ki-heñoh ḡa tóoh...

dogs-DEF ATTR-angry-DEF be(AUX) with INF-fight REL.M all

'all the angry dogs that are fighting...'

3. maal-aa wi-yaanaaw-waa tóoh 'all the white rice'

rice-DEF ATTR-white-DEF all

Béeḅ occurs in different functions, partly in different positions.

a) It occurs unsuffixed in the same position as tóoh with the following functions:

- universal, when determining a noun with or without other modifiers, but without a relative clause modification:

4. Beti-caa ḅéeḅ ínoh-uunun-daa. 'All the women know you.'

women-DEF all know-PERF(pl)-OBJ(2sg)

- distributive, when determining a noun in the singular, modified by a relative clause (ḅéeḅ following the relative clause). As mentioned, the relative clause may be represented by the single verb en 'be' (as in example 6).

5. Bes-aa fu hay dii ḅéeḅ, mi sek-kaa. 'Every day that you come here, I wait for you.'

day-DEF you come here every I wait-OBJ(2sg)

6. Bes-aa en ḅéeḅ, mi sek-kaa. 'Every day I wait for you.'

day-DEF be every I wait-OBJ(2sg)

b) When ḅéeḅ occurs with the relational suffix, it carries a universal meaning. It operates either in the NP or as displaced determiner in a postverbal adjunct position. In the NP it occurs in the same position as tóoh, and it may determine a plural noun or pronoun. In the adjunct position it still shows agreement with the noun through the relational suffixes.

7. Pe'-cii en-ee dii ḅa ḅéeḅ-ḅa ḅada? 'Where are all the goats that were here?'

goats-DEF be-PAST here REL.M all-REL(3pl) where

Haŋ 'alone, only' functions in the same positions as ḂéeḂ when this occurs with a relational suffix: It can be part of the NP or it may be displaced and occur in a postverbal adjunct position, still determining the subject noun or pronoun. These two quantifiers that also act in adjunct position, always determine a subject noun - never an object.

8. Mi haŋ-goo keloh-in wa. 'I alone understand it.'

I alone-REL(1sg) understand-PERF OBJ(C1sg)

9. Mi hay-in haŋ-goo. 'I have come alone.'

I come-PERF alone-REL(1sg)

3.2.2.5. Interrogatives

Interrogative determiners appear in a phrase final position, the same as the emphatic particles and pronouns, with which they are mutually exclusive. Interrogative determiners are the selective Ciida 'which?' and the quantifying Cera⁸ 'how many?'. Their occurrence is conditioned by the noun appearing in its indefinite form:

1. Pabu ciida 'Which hens?'

hens which

2. Fu on-doo pabu fu haan ki-'ap wiida?

you give-OBJ(1sg) hen you have.just(AUX) INF-kill which

'Which hen that you have just killed, will you give me?'

3. Pabu cera? 'How many hens?'

hens how.many

⁸As before, C- signifies the agreement marker.

4. Fu waa' ki-lom pabu ci-yak cera? 'How many big hens do you want to buy?'

you want INF-buy hens ATTR-big how.many

The interrogative Cera is only used for countable nouns. In order to express the notion of 'how much' for uncountables, the verb hín 'amount to, be equal' is used:

5. Músú-maa hín na? 'How much water is there?'

water-DEF amount.to how

3.2.3. The relative clause in the NP

As stated earlier (2.4.2.3.), the relative clause can serve as an expansion for nouns and relative pronouns. The antecedent of the relative clause may function as subject, object or adjunct in the main clause. The structure of the relative clause will be dealt with in the chapter on clauses (8.2.1.). Therefore, this section will just give a few examples of the relative clause in the NP:

subject antecedent:

1. Kowu-kaa fíip da mín-oo ki-wo'. 'The child that cries cannot talk.'

child-DEF cry REL.M can(AUX)-PRES.NEG INF-talk

object antecedent:

2. Wo'-aa kowu-kaa fíip da an: 'Tell the child that is crying.'

say-IMP child-DEF cry REL.M COMPL

adjunct antecedent:

3. Bes-aa fu hay da, ya en-ee na ki-lín. 'The day you came, s/he was cultivating.'

day-DEF you(sg) come REL.M s/he be(AUX)-PAST with INF-cultivate

3.2.4. Emphatic pronouns and particles

Emphatic pronouns are the ones described in 2.4.1.4. (yě́rí, wě́rí, etc.) These pronouns may function as nominal determiners and occur in phrase final position, but only on certain conditions: They only appear in clause-initial NPs, i.e. as the subject, or as a NP moved by thematic fronting (see also 10.4.1.).

The emphatic particles (see 7.2.4.) are for example déy, daal, nak, sah, that all serve to put emphasis to a certain element of the clause. Commonly, they function to emphasise a NP, especially in a topicalised position, but they may also modify the NP in a prepositional phrase or a whole clause. In the NP they always occur in a final position, and never co-occur with the interrogative determiners. The use of these particles is further described in 10.4.3.

The different modifiers of the noun can thus be concluded as follows, in the following order:

noun

genitive NP

gender adjective

demonstrative

adjective

numeral quantifier

relative clause

non-numeral quantifier

interrogative / emphatic particle

3.3. The complex NP

The complex NP consists of two or more NPs that may be juxtaposed or linked, and which together take the same functions as simple NPs. There are two types of complex NPs:

- with an appositive NP
- with a co-ordinating expansion.

3.3.1. The complex NP with an appositive NP

An apposition is a noun or a NP that determines the head NP with which it is co-referential. Normally, the NPs are juxtaposed, without a linking co-ordinator. The functions of the appositions are:

- to provide additional or explanatory information about the subject
- to give an epithet to the subject

An explanatory apposition is directly juxtaposed to the head NP, but it may also be introduced by expressions with the copular verb en 'be', such as the following: wëri en or enda, (narrative of en) which bear the sense of 'that is', to further underline the function of equality between the NPs. If the apposition is extensive, the head noun is sometimes repeated for clarity after the apposition. A further demarcation of the apposition from the head noun is made by pauses and intonation pattern.

1. Ngañ, kowu-kaa, ɓeɓ-pa seetu-faa, yaa seetu'-uk.

Ngañ child-DEF take-NARR mirror-DEF PROG look.at-REFL

'Ngañ, the child, took the mirror and looked at himself.'

2. ARF⁹, wëri en ðuw-aa mey-uunun ga teeru-cii ða, ARF tan kaan fiinoo faa tip-an bilim-aa.

ARF P.EMPH be people-DEF leave-PASS.PERF from cities-DEF REL.M ARF choose house one P.REL beat-FUT dance.feast-DEF

'ARF, i.e. the people who have come from the cities, ARF chooses one house that will play the bilim (= organise the dance feast).'

The function of providing an epithet for a noun involves a preposed apposition which is necessarily very short - a noun or a root of a noun - and its usage is basically restricted to determine proper names or nouns that function as proper names (e.g. names of animal species for characters of a story).

3. Buu' Juuf	'King Diouf'	buu' = 'king'
4. Taan Cooh	'uncle elephant'	taanamun = 'uncle'
5. Cic Kooh ¹⁰	'grand-father God'	cica = 'grandparent'

The similarity between this construction and the genitive is striking, especially since the relational nouns occur in their root form also in the appositive construction:

6. húnis Guu' na Mati,	'friends, Ngor and Mati,'
friend(s) Ngor and Mati	
could just as well mean	'friend(s) of Ngor and Mati'

In the epithetical apposition, there is no pause to separate the apposition from the head noun, at least not one as distinguishable as in the postposed appositions. Furthermore,

⁹ARF is the abbreviation for 'Association des Ressortissants de Fandène'; an association for people who come from the village of Fandène, but who live in the city.

¹⁰This epithet to God is used in stories and expressions to make God less awesome.

there is no intonational difference between the appositive NP and a genitive construction as the one in example 6. This means that it has to be the context that decides which type of construction that is being uttered: The apposition is more likely in a vocative context, and the genitive interpretation in all other functions.

3.3.2. The complex NP with a co-ordinating expansion

The co-ordinated NP consists of two or more separate NPs which may be juxtaposed or linked with a conjunction:

- zero-linking
- the comitative conjunction na 'with, and'
- the alternative or distributive conjunction -oo 'or'
- the alternative conjunction wala 'or'

The co-ordination with zero-linking is commonly used in listing different nouns that all function in the same NP:

1. Jíní, saay-saay, lok t́ín-s-i na wek. 'Evil spirits, gangsters, thieves walk at night.'
evil.spirits gangsters thieves walk-PLUR-HAB at night

Here, it would be possible to use the comitative conjunction na to link the nouns, but the impression would be that the different noun subjects do the action together, rather than being listed as performing the same action.

Na occurs between NPs. It carries the comitative sense 'with', but it also has the additive function of 'and'. When the second NP consists of an animate pronoun, it is the object pronoun suffix that is suffixed to the preposition.

2. Jën ci-daankah na maalu kiloo wíinoo. 'Ten fish and one kilo of rice.'
 fish ATTR-ten with rice kilo one

3. Samba na-raa. 'Samba and you.'
 Samba and-OBJ(2sg)

Note also the use of na as a preposition (see 4.1.1.).

The conjunction -oo, in its alternative sense, is suffixed to the first NP, to indicate an alternation between the first and the second NPs. Note that the number of NPs linked by -oo is restricted to two:

4. Bet-oo y'aal? 'Woman or man?'
 woman-or man

5. Fu dëk Padee-n-oo Caañaak? 'Do you live in Fandène or Thiès?'
 you(sg) live Fandène-N-or Thiès

When carrying a distributive, universal sense, the conjunction -oo is suffixed to the last element of both NPs that are co-ordinated into a complex NP. This use of the conjunction is quite restricted to certain fixed expressions, where the relation between the NPs is quite similar to that produced by the preposition na.

6. bet-oo yaal-oo 'woman and man' (= everybody)
 woman-or man-or

7. yúk-oo lah-oo 'dry and rainy season' (= all year round)

dry.season-or rainy.season-or

The conjunction wala functions as a synonym to the alternative -oo. It occurs between the NPs that are linked. With wala it is possible to link more than two alternatives (which is not the case with -oo).

8. Ndew wala Kodu wala Nogay 'Ndew or Kodu or Nogay'

Ndew or Kodu or Nogay

4. PREPOSITIONS AND ADVERBS

4.1. Prepositions

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4.2. Adverbs

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4.1. Prepositions

The function of the preposition is to act as the first component, in some cases the only one, of the prepositional phrase. If the preposition constitutes the first part of the PP, it is followed by a NP or a pronominal suffix. The structure of the preposition can be either simple or complex. The complex prepositions are all locative (or metaphorically temporal) and made up of the preposition ga followed by a certain group of locative nouns. Some of these locative nouns may also occur as simple prepositions.

4.1.1. The prepositions na and ga¹

Apart from the semantic distinctions, na and ga differ from other prepositions in the following aspects:

- they are clitic and do not appear stressed in any position
- they take the object pronoun suffix normally found with the verb, while other prepositions take the relational pronoun suffix that otherwise appears with the relational nouns
- they function in the obligatory complement of certain phrasal verbs

4.1.1.1. Na 'with'

The preposition na has five main functions²:

- comitative and with possession-predicates
- instrumental
- temporal
- as part of a progressive aspect.

Comitative na

In its comitative function, na appears either in a PP as adjunct or linked to a complement NP. When it occurs as part of the complement it is made obligatory by certain phrasal verbs such as taam 'accompany', or by certain verbal derivations (such as the reciprocal -oh when the subject is in the singular.) This will be elaborated further in the chapter on the verb phrase (see 6.2.2.3.2.).

1. Mi ñam na yaak-koo.

'I eat with my brother.'

I eat with older.brother-REL(1sg)

¹These prepositions could also be classified among the temporal or locative groups, but in addition, they have other usages and are therefore treated separately.

²Note that na also functions as a conjunction between NPs (see 3.3.2. and 7.1.1.).

2. Mi hídoḥ-in na βeti-fu. 'I met your wife.'

I meet-PERF with wife-REL(2sg)

3. Ya taam-ba na yaal. 'S/he went with a man.'

s/he accompany with man

As mentioned above, na can be suffixed by the object pronoun suffix as in example 4:

4. Mi na-raa. 'Me and you.'

I with-OBJ(2sg)

Na can also be used with possession predicates in a comitative sense, to express a possession of some kind. However, it is not the possession that is in focus, but the fact that a person or an object is in a state where he has or co-occurs with something. Thus, examples 5-7 can be interpreted as 'with' or 'have'.

5. βeti-faa yaa na look. 'The woman is pregnant.' (with/has a stomach)

woman-DEF PROG with stomach

6. Mangoo-naa na towu-taa. 'The mango-tree with the fruits.' (has fruits)

mango.tree-DEF with children.DEF

7. Mi yii na jam. 'I am here with peace.' ('I have peace')

I PROG with peace

Instrumental na

When a verb is derived by the instrumental suffix -oh, na occurs as an obligatory complement, followed by the instrument noun, as in the example:

8. Mi ñam-oh na kudu. 'I eat with a spoon.'

I eat-INSTR with spoon

Temporal na

The temporal na 'at' occurs followed by a temporal noun in two functions:

- in NPs which are temporally modified
- in time-adverbs

When temporally defining a noun, na is quite productive. The product of a noun defined by temporal na appears much like a compound noun. However, unlike compound nouns, both nouns in this construction take the definite suffix when in definite form (as in example 10)

9. tíid-oh na wek 'a night-wanderer'

walk-AGENT at night

10. bílím-aa na noh-aa 'the day-bílím'

dance.feast-DEM at noon-DEM

In time adverbs, na and its following temporal noun may occur either alone or defining another adverb. In this usage, na is not as productive but restricted to certain expressions such as na kím 'in the morning', na noosoos 'in the evening'. Here, the temporal noun in the expression is always in an indefinite form. These expressions may occur as adverbs on their own, as in example 11, but they may also further specify other

time-adverbs such as 'tomorrow' and 'yesterday', as in 12 and 13. When the temporal PP with na functions as an adverb on its own, it can only occur in clause final position.

11. Mi hay na kím. 'I came in the morning.'

I come at morning

12. kuwis na kím 'tomorrow morning'

tomorrow at morning

13. wútúwaa na noosoos 'yesterday evening'

yesterday at evening

In all these expressions, the preposition ga can be used synonymously, but then the temporal noun is always in a definite form (while following na it always appears indefinite):

14. kuwis ga kím-aa 'tomorrow morning'

tomorrow in morning-DEF

Na in progressive constructions

When occurring in a progressive construction, na follows the verb en 'be'. The structure of this function of na is comparable to that of the phrasal verbs which occur with a comitative na, but the function of the preposition here is not comitative but rather temporal. Another difference is that the progressive construction en na is not followed by a complement NP, as other phrasal verbs, but by an infinitive verb. The verb en in this function is therefore interpreted as a phrasal auxiliary (see 6.3.3.).

15. Beti-faa en na ki-tík. 'The woman is cooking.'

woman-DEF be with INF-cook

4.1.1.2. ga 'at, on, to'

This is the preposition most extensively used in Noon. It has the following possible functions:

- locative, both separately and as the first part of the complex locative prepositions (see locative prepositions 4.1.3.)
- temporal
- partitive
- dative

It is only in the partitive and dative functions that ga takes a pronoun suffix, which then is the object pronoun suffix.

Locative and temporal ga

Both in its locative and temporal senses, ga carries the meaning of 'at, in' in a general sense, pointing out a specific area or a punctual time, in a limited timeframe.

1. Oomaa-caa neeh-uunun ga kaan-faa. 'The children are asleep in the house.'

children-DEF sleep-PERF(pl) in house-DEF

2. Dii hay ki-laak bílím ga Paak. 'There will be a 'bilim' here at Easter.'

DEM.LOC will(AUX) INF-have 'dance.feast' at Easter

Partitive ga

In its partitive function, ga gives the notion of 'of'. It can occur with certain transitive verbs, to give it a partitive sense, as in the example:

3. Ñam-aa maal-aa! 'Eat the rice!'

eat-IMP rice-DEF

4. Ñam-aa ga maal-aa! 'Eat some of the rice!'

eat-IMP of rice-DEF

It can also be linked to certain phrasal verbs (see also 6.2.2.3.2.) where ga has to precede any NP complement. Many of these verbs can appear without the preposition, as normal transitive verbs, but then with a different meaning, such as:

5. malak 'look'

6. malak ga 'watch over'

7. wo' 'say'

8. wo' ga 'reproach'

Following these phrasal verbs, the signification of the preposition can sometimes be close to a partitive function. Often, however, the phrasal verbs with this preposition have to be treated as lexical units, since the preposition here has a variety of different rôles that are difficult to unify.

9. beëkoh ga 'leave'

10. halaat ga 'think about/of'

11. tík ga 'follow'

12. aay ga 'be clever at'

Dative ga

Sometimes, ga has a dative rôle of 'to, towards, on', as when it occurs following stative verbs, describing the person being influenced by the state, as in the example 13 below. This is synonymous with the use of the object pronoun suffix immediately following the stative verb (see 5.4. and 8.1.1.2.). The use of ga in a dative function may be of either a benefactive or a malefactive type, depending on the verb preceding:

13. Feet-ii new-in ga-roo. 'The feast is pleasant, to me.' (I like the feast.)
feast-DEF be.pleasant-PERF to-OBJ(1sg)
(= Feet-ii new-in-doo.)

14. Lëgëy-aa 6ft-in ga-roo. 'The job is hard to me.' (I think the job is hard.)
work-DEF be.hard-PERF to-OBJ(1sg)

A dative function can also be distinguished when ga follows certain phrasal verbs, such as:

- | | |
|----------------|------------------|
| 15. yaakaad ga | 'believe in' |
| 16. ëewruk ga | 'concentrate on' |
| 17. waat ga | 'swear by/on' |

4.1.2. Temporal prepositions

Apart from the temporal use of na and ga, seen above, there are the following temporal prepositions:

bi 'until'

The preposition bi expresses 'until' and it is followed by a temporal adverb. Bi can also function as a conjunction between two clauses, with the same meaning (see 7.1.2.).

Examples of the prepositional use of bi:

1. Bi kuwis 'Until tomorrow' (= 'see you tomorrow')

2. Mi sek-an-daa bi altine. 'I will wait for you until Monday.'

I wait-FUT-OBJ(2sg) until Monday

aboh ga 'from'

This preposition is actually a verb ('take') followed by the preposition ga but it is used as a preposition to denote 'from' in a temporal, but also locative sense.

3. Aboh ga wati, mi ñam-is-sii maalu. 'From today, I won't eat rice again.'

take from today I eat-REP-ASP.NEG rice

balaa 'before'

As bi, the preposition balaa can also occur as conjunction (see 7.1.2.). Examples of the prepositional use:

4. Dí jom ki-sok balaa lah-aa. 'We should sow before the rainy season.'

we.EXCL should INF-sow before rainy.season-DEF

Balaa may take the relational pronoun suffix, as in:

5. Mi le-'a (<-ra) kaan balaa-fu. 'I came home before you.'

I reach-NARR home before-REL(2sg)

The following prepositions all have an originally locative sense (see below), but they are also used metaphorically as temporal. They normally appear as complex prepositions,

the locative noun preceded by ga, but in clause initial position they may sometimes occur as simple prepositions (as in example 6):

ga fenoo 'beyond, after'

6. Fenoo noweel. 'After Christmas.'

ga hanoo 'before'

7. Ya hay-yii ki-hay ga hanoo gaac. 'S/he won't come before next year.'

S/he will(AUX)-ASP.NEG INF-come before next.year

ga leeloo 'in the middle of'

8. Modu hay-ee ga leeloo wek. 'Modu came in the middle of the night.'

Modu come-PAST in middle night

ga fikii 'ahead'

9. Bes cera ga fikii? 'In how many days?'

days how.many in front

4.1.3. Locative prepositions

Apart from ga, that we have seen above, there are the locative prepositions that actually all consist of an original noun with a locative sense, e.g. 'the inside' or 'the behind', but which are now almost exclusively used as prepositions. These prepositions all occur as complex structures, the noun preceded by ga. The complex form is the most frequent, although some of these prepositions may appear in a simple form.

ga dikanti/ dikanti 'between'

ga dook 'above'

ga duuy 'inside'

ga fenoo/ fenoo	'behind'
ga fikii	'in front of, facing'
ga fildoo/ fildoo	'under, beneath'
ga leeloo/ leeloo	'at the centre of, in the middle of'
ga le'naa	'in the middle of, inside'
ga yahaa	'beside'

The reason to assume that the second parts of the above prepositions are originally locative nouns is drawn from the fact that they may occur in compound nouns as in the following example:

1. Ku-oomaa-kaa nam-ba ki-tuuk ga leeloo-kaad-aa.

DIM-child-DEF must(AUX)-NARR INF-stand in centre-house-DEF

'The little child had to stand in the house-centre.'

Note that the definite suffix of leelo-kaan (<kaad) is not that of class 2, which is the noun class of kaan, but class 1 which must be the class of leeloo. This indicates that the construction leeloo-kaadaa is that of a compound noun, meaning 'the house-centre', where the locative noun leeloo is the head noun. However, the same locative nouns may also function to give a locative modification to a following noun which remains the head of the phrase. In these cases they are interpreted as prepositions, as in the example:

2. Malk-aa ga fildoo fayaag-faa! 'Look under the bed!'

look-IMP at under bed-DEF

All these locative prepositions may take the relational pronoun suffix, which is consistent with the fact that these are originally nouns that express a relation rather than a possession, just as the relational nouns:

3. Mi fool ga fenoo-fu 'I run behind you' (lit: I run at your behind)

I run at behind-REL(2sg)

4. Yug-aa ga yahaa-roo 'Sit down next to me!' (lit: Sit down by my side)

sit-IMP at side-REL(1sg)

Finally, there are two other complex locative prepositions that differ from the above in their structures. They are the prepositions bi ga and aboh ga.

Bi ga carries the same meaning as temporal bi 'until', but here in its locative sense; 'to' or 'all the way to'³. When a suffix occurs, it is the object pronoun suffix (since it is added to the preposition ga).

5. Maalik kar-in bi ga Dakaa'. 'Maalik has gone all the way to Dakar.'

Maalik go-PERF to at Dakar

Aboh ga has the same meaning as when occurring as a temporal preposition, 'from', but it is here used in its locative sense.

6. Ba wíl-in dëk-aa tóoh; aboh ga giyy-aa bi ga luuf-aa.

they go.through-PERF country-DEF all take from sea-DEF to at forest-DEF

'They have gone through the whole country; from the sea to the forest.'

4.1.4. The preposition fodii/fodaa 'as'

The preposition fodii/fodaa expresses a modal value with the meaning 'as, like'. The distinction between the two forms is basically made on the basis of temporal or spatial

³Bi ga can also be used for temporal context when followed by a noun that is not purely temporal, as Noweel 'Christmas'.

position of the following noun (-ii 'close' -aa 'distant'). When followed by a pronoun suffix, it is the possessive suffix that is used, quite unlike the other prepositions. This, in addition to the position distinction based on the position of the following noun, resembles the structure of common nouns. However, there is no other occurrence of the word, which would reveal any original nominal significance, such as for instance 'way, manner'.

1. Fu ñam-i fodii baay! 'You eat like a dog!'

you(sg) eat-HAB like dog

2. 'Ba hëwí' túuy'fodaa múus. 'They build a hut as in the old days.'

they build hut as past.time

3. Mi tum fodii-garaa 'I do as you do.'

I do like-POSS(2sg)

4.1.5. The prepositional phrase

The prepositional phrase (PP) functions in the clause as a complement with phrasal verbs or as an adjunct. The structure of the PP is either simple or complex, with the following elements:

simple PP = the preposition ga or a complex preposition (ga + locative noun)

complex PP = preposition + pronoun suffix / NP

4.1.5.1. The simple PP

The element of a simple PP is either the preposition ga or a complex preposition. Ga occurs alone in the PP when it operates in its locative or partitive functions. Here, the NP may be omitted and implicit in the context.

1. Baay-faa neeh-eera ga (túuy-aa). 'The dog slept in (the hut).'

dog-DEF enter-PAST.PUNCT in (hut-DEF)

2. Baay-faa ñam-in ga. 'The dog has eaten of (it).'

dog-DEF eat-PERF PART

The complex prepositions that have a locative sense (4.1.3.), or that are used metaphorically in a temporal function (4.1.2.), can all appear alone in the PP. In describing these prepositions we claimed that they consist of the preposition ga and certain original locative nouns that have come to function as prepositions, either preceded by the preposition ga or alone. Nevertheless, it is clear that the complex prepositions must be interpreted as separate prepositions, and not as complex PPs, since they, like the simple preposition ga may occur in a simple PP as well as in a complex PP, followed by a separate NP.

In a simple PP:

3. Paam-ci yuŋ ga (túuy-aa). 'His/her father sits in (the hut).'

father-REL(3sg) sit in (hut-DEF)

4. Paam-ci yuŋ ga fenoo (túuy-aa). 'His/her father sits behind (the hut).'

father-REL(3sg) sit at behind (hut-DEF)

In a complex PP:

5. ga túuy-aa 'in the hut'

in hut-DEF

6. ga fenoo túuy-aa 'behind the hut'

at behind hut-DEF

4.1.5.2. The complex PP

The complex PP consists of a simple or complex preposition followed by a pronoun suffix or by a NP, or in the case of the temporal preposition bi 'until', by a temporal adverb. The pronoun suffixes occur when an animate noun of the NP is replaced by a pronoun. The pronouns are either the relational pronoun suffixes (occurring with the majority of prepositions) or the object pronoun suffixes (following the prepositions na and ga).

1. Yug-aa ga yahaa-roo. 'Sit next to me.'

sit-IMP at side-REL(1sg)

2. Mi hay na-raa. 'I come with you.'

I come with-OBJ(2sg)

3. Bi kuwis. 'Until tomorrow.'

until tomorrow

The NP which may follow the preposition can be of any type, containing a noun or pronoun, with one restriction: it cannot consist of an inanimate substitutive pronoun. If an inanimate NP is omitted and implied, it is never replaced by a substitutive pronoun, but the preposition alone represents the implied elements in a simple PP (as in example 4 below):

4. Faan-aa bídaa-naa ga. 'Put the pen on (it).'

put-IMP pen-DEF on (it)

5. Mi hot-ta-raa ga fíkíi túuy-aa wi-'as-waa. 'I saw you in front of the new hut.'

I see-NARR-OBJ(2sg) in front hut-DEF ATTR-new-DEF

6. 'Beti-faa ka'-ta ga baa mín-di ki-'amdoh.

woman-DEF go-NARR to P.REL can(AUX)-OBJ(3sg) INF-help

'The woman went to someone who could help her.'

7. Ya wo' na ba?

'Whom does s/he talk to?'

s/he talk with who

4.2. Adverbs

The adverbs form a closed, quite small set of words that function as adjuncts, modifying the verb or the clause.⁴ There are four types of adverbs in Noon: temporal, modal, intensifying and interrogative. There are no locative adverbs as such, since locative adjuncts are expressed by the locative demonstrative (see 2.3.1.), with the locative marker d- as initial consonant (see 2.1.2.2.), or by a locative PP. Here, it is also necessary to emphasise the rôle of the auxiliaries to modify a verb. Most temporal and modal modifications of the verb are done by an auxiliary. However, the use of separate adverbs have increased in the language, especially through the influence of Wolof and French. Thus, there are often two possibilities to express a certain modification: with an auxiliary verb, or with a adverb. An example is the following temporal modification:

1. Mi hay-in karam. 'I came recently.'

I come-PERF recently

2. Mi haan ki-hay. 'I just came'

I have.just(AUX) INF-come

⁴In Noon, an adverb cannot modify an adjective in a NP. In order for an adjective to be modified it has to be reformulated as a stative verb, or it may take the intensive participle suffix -ra (see 2.3.2.3.).

4.2.1. Temporal adverbs

Two types of temporal adverbs are distinguishable: root or non-derived adverbs, and denominal adverbs which are distinguishable by their specific use of certain suffixes to define their time reference.

4.2.1.1. Temporal root adverbs

Among the temporal root adverbs, some are restricted to affirmative or negative uses.

The affirmative adverb only occurs in clauses with the verb in an affirmative tense or aspect, while negative adverbs require a double negation construction in that the finite verb of the clause occurs in a negative tense/aspect.

wati	'today'
wútúwaa	'yesterday'
kuwis ⁵	'tomorrow'
bërí	'that same day'
taa ¹⁶	'always'
wíis	'this year'
gaac	'next year'
kisaah	'last year'
karam	'recently'
doonaa	'then'
léegí	'soon'
hen	'just'

⁵Kuwis is derived from Kooh wíis 'God makes day'. Both forms are used with the syntactical difference that kuwis is an adverb and Kooh wíis a subordinate clause which takes the subordinator suffix -aa. Thus, kuwis and Kooh wíis-aa are used synonymously for 'morning'.

¹⁶Taa always occurs in a complex PP with the preposition bi 'until'. It may occur with an affirmative verb, to signify 'always, for ever', or with a negative verb denoting 'never more'.

diima	'now'
diima-diima	'a moment ago/ in a moment'
waama ⁷	'then'

affirmative:

haat	'already'
------	-----------

negative:

duum	'not yet'
múk	'never'

The adverb hen 'just' also occurs as a modal adverb with a restrictor function (see 4.2.2.1.). In its temporal sense, it mainly appears in narrative discourse, with a function close to that of the English conjunction 'as soon as'. However, we have chosen to interpret hen as a restrictor adverb rather than a conjunction. This is based on the fact that it occurs both in independent clauses and in clauses with a subordinate conjunction. In the example below, hen occurs in an independent clause, juxtaposed by another independent clause, expressing two sequential actions. The adverb hen here, in the first clause, expresses the immediacy of the second action following the first:

1. Ya le' hen, ya wo'-'a an: 'He had just arrived when he said:'
s/he arrive just s/he say-NARR COMPL

⁷These last three adverbs could be interpreted as derived from the locative pronoun dii and C1 singular pronoun waa, carrying the referential suffix -ma. However, it would be hard to account for the semantic function of the referential suffix to form these 'derived' adverbs. Therefore, I have chosen to treat the possible derivation as fixed and part of the root.

4.2.1.2. Temporal denominal adverbs

A few nouns, with a temporal connotation, are used as adverbs when they occur with one of four specific deictic suffixes. The most frequent of these temporal nouns are:

kím	'morning'
nín	'evening'
wek	'night'
yúk	'dry season'
lah	'rainy season'
seek	'harvest season'

The different suffixes that occur with these temporal adverbs define in which temporal aspects these nouns are being used. The suffixes are:

- two of the singular definite forms, -Cii 'near speaker' and -Caa 'distant'⁸
- the referential -ma
- the suffix -raa, where the -r- is realised as a lengthening of the previous consonant.

Unlike the above suffixes, this suffix only occurs in this function with temporal nouns.

Occurring with these temporal nouns, the functions of these suffixes are as follows:

-Cii	present
-Caa	past
-ma ~ -ama ⁹	recent past
-raa ¹⁰	future

⁸The C- indicates the class marking consonant. Since all of the temporal nouns described here belong to noun class 1, where the class marking consonant is zero, the suffix is realised as -ii and -aa in the adverbs.

⁹When the suffix -ma occurs with the nouns nín 'evening' and wek 'night', there is an epenthetic -a- before the suffix, which has not been attested elsewhere in the use of the referential -ma.

¹⁰This suffix does not occur with the nouns kím 'morning' and nín 'evening'.

In analysing "some iconic relationships among place, time and discourse deixis", Greenberg states that *"with varying degrees of clarity there is a general tendency to refer to the past by a distance demonstrative and the future by a near demonstrative [...]/ It is consistent with this that the far distant future which is also ahead of us but is not visible should be referred to by a distance demonstrative"* (Greenberg 1985:283). This general tendency concerns different aspects of time deixis. When looking at temporal adverbs, he suggests that *"regarding actual time expressions, our second category, the near demonstrative, regularly covers the current time period including, however, both that which is past and that which is to come"* (p. 284). This same tendency seems to operate in the use of definite suffixes with temporal adverbs in Noon¹¹. The past is marked by the distant suffix itself, Caa, and the future by the suffix -raa where the vowel -aa indicates distance but the initial consonant is different to separate it from the past. The present includes the actual moment of speaking and the immediate past and future that is part of that same temporal notion.

The two suffixes -ma and -Caa can be said to be in complementary distribution when they both denote the previous occurrence of the temporal notion. The choice of suffix depends on the real-world time span between the present and the previous occurrence. Thus, a noun like wek 'night' takes the suffix -ma to indicate the previous night, but yúk 'dry season' will appear as yúkaa to express 'previous dry season'. Thus, the derived temporal adverbs will appear as follows:

	present	previous	next	
kím	kím <i>ii</i>	kím <u>ma</u>		'morning'
nīn	nīn <i>ii</i>	nīn <u>ama</u>		'evening'
wek	wek <i>ii</i>	wek <u>kama</u>	wek <u>kaa</u>	'night'
yúk	yúk <i>ii</i>	yúk <u>aa</u>	yúk <u>kaa</u>	'dry season'

¹¹As stated in 2.2.5.2., the definite form has a demonstrative element in that it makes a position distinction.

lah	lahii	lahaa	lahhaa	'rainy season'
seek	seekii	seekaa	seekkaa	'harvest season'

The verb paaf 'pass' is used with the root adverb kuwis 'tomorrow' in the fixed expression paaf kuwis, signifying 'the day after tomorrow'.

4.2.1.3. Modifications of temporal adverbs

Most of the temporal adverbs, root and denominal, can be modified by the relational suffix -ci,¹² except for kuwis 'tomorrow', which has the modification shown above. The relational suffix -ci occurs with most of the adverbs to signify another step of removal in the same temporal direction as the adverb (past or future time reference), for example:

1. wútúwaa 'yesterday' wútúwaa-ci 'day before yesterday'

Here, the literal translation would be 'its yesterday', i.e. 'the yesterday of yesterday'.

Other examples are:

2. níin-ama-ci 'the evening before the last'
3. gaac-ci 'the year after the following'

The suffix -ci can also be suffixed to the already modified paaf kuwis:

4. paaf kuwis-ci 'two days after tomorrow' (lit: 'past its tomorrow')

It is also possible to repeat the suffix -ci twice, with the result of further removing the situation in the direction of the adverb:

¹²This is the 3sg suffix 'his/her/its', which is normally suffixed to relational nouns (see 2.2.1. subclass 2).

5. Mi keen-oo gaac, mi keen-oo gaac-ci. Gaac-ci-ci nak, Kooh ínoh.

I fall.down-PRES.NEG next.year I fall-PRES.NEG next.year-REL(3sg) next.year-REL(3sg)-
REL(3sg) however God know

'I won't fall down next year and I won't fall the year after. The year after
that, however, only God knows.'

Note that all other nouns with a temporal connotation, but which do not function as
adverbs, must be defined by a temporal adverb, or with a deictic motion-verb in a
relative clause, in order to be specified in time. Thus, for example, noosoos, another
word for 'evening', can be defined by the following adverbs:

6. wati na noosoos 'this evening' (=today in the evening)

7. kuwis na noosoos 'next evening' (=tomorrow in the evening)

8. wútúwaa na noosoos 'last evening' (=yesterday in the evening)

9. noosoos-aa hay dā 'the coming evening'

evening-DEF come REL.M

10. noosoos-aa paaf dā 'the past evening'

evening-DEF pass REL.M

These constructions are also alternatives to the use of suffixes with the denominal
adverbs described above. Consequently, the following examples are synonymous:

11. weka-ma 'last night'

12. wek-aa paaf dā 'the night that passed'

The temporal noun bes 'day' occurs in two expressions, where it is juxtaposed to the
following temporal adverbs:

13. bes-ii wati 'this very day'

14. bes-aa bërîi 'that very day'

Both these temporal adverbs, wati 'today' and bërîi 'that day', occur more commonly on their own without the noun bes. The impact of the noun bes in the expression is to put further emphasis on the temporal adverb in the clause. Because of the rarity of this construction (only occurring with this noun), we treat these expressions as complex temporal adverbs.

4.2.2. Modal adverbs

Modal adverbs are formed either by a root, which is reduplicated in the case of ndaŋka-ndaŋka, or by a certain group of deverbal adjectives, with the adverbial prefix di-.

4.2.2.1. Modal root adverbs

The modal adverbs as roots are very few:

doŋ 'only'

hen 'just'

lak, lakanaa 'as it happened'

da 'thus, in this way' (anaphoric)

an/anee 'in this way' (cataphoric)

ndaŋka-ndaŋka 'slowly, carefully'

The adverb hen 'just' (both in its temporal and modal sense) occurs as a restrictor, which also has a backgrounding function. This will be described in the chapter on discourse (see 10.5.3.). As a modal adverb, it occurs in two main contexts: in a restrictor function to express the attitude 'just' or 'simply' with the indicative form of the verb, and to emphasise an imperative, as in the examples:

1. Baay yoluk-aa, ya fool-i hen. 'When a dog is mad, he just runs.'

dog be.mad-SUB s/he run-HAB just

2. Yug-aa hen! 'Just sit down!'

sit-IMP just

The adverb lak or lakanaa has a circumstantial function which can be translated as 'as it happened', 'and it happened that', or simply by juxtaposing the clauses, the clause following lak being an expansion of the former one. As will be described in 10.5.4., lak has a backgrounding effect on the clause where it occurs, similarly to that of hen.

Sometimes, a clause with the adverb lak can be translated by a subordinate causal clause. This is seen in example 4, where the clause with lakanaa can be translated either by the conjunction 'as' or by making the last clause the explanatory background of the first.

3. Ya ka'-ta bi ya laak loob-aa, lak loob-aa yaa yōb.

s/he go-NARR until s/he have lumberjack-DEF CIRC lumberjack-DEF PROG chop

'He went until he found the lumberjack, and the lumberjack was chopping (wood).'

4. Dí en-ee ga iñaa-ma noh noh noh, ki-fool rek, lakanaa dí bew-in bes-aa-ma ki-kaal-s-uk.

we.EXCL be-PAST at this-REF sun sun sun INF-run only since we take-PERF day-DEF-REF
INF-hunt-INT-REFL

'We were at this all, all day, just running, as we had taken this day to hunt.'

" , - we had taken this day to hunt.'

4.2.2.2. Modal adverbs formed with the prefix di-

The adverbs formed with the adverbial prefix di- can only be based on deverbal adjectives with the participle suffix -í' (< -íđ, see 2.3.2.3.). As seen in 2.3.2.1., adjectives

always carry an agreement marking prefix. This prefix is replaced by the adverbial prefix di- when functioning as an adverb. Examples of these derived modal adverbs are the following:

adjective		di- + adj	
jófi' 'good'		di-jófi'	'well'
dóolí' 'strong'		di-dóolí'	'with strength'
bóní' 'bad'		di-bóní'	'badly'

4.2.3. Intensifying adverbs

Intensifying adverbs in Noon are quite few, and are actually all loan words from Wolof and French.

lool 'too much'

torop 'very much' (cf French: trop)

rek 'only, just'

However, there are other ways to intensify an element in the clause, for example:

- by the intensive participle suffix -ra (see 2.3.2.3.)

- by PPs such as bi hēpin 'very/too much' (lit. 'until it is too much') or bi jof 'very well' (lit. 'until it is good')

- by ideophonic adverbs

Intensifying adverbs can occur with any verb. Their semantic function is to raise the degree of intensity in the performance of the action. Normally, this can be translated by 'very much', 'too much' or 'completely'. In some cases, the adverb may signify 'just' - the subject did nothing but this very action.

1. Ya wo'-in lool.

'S/he has said too much.'

S/he say-PERF too-much

2. Oomaa-naa ñam-ba torop. 'The child ate very much.'

child-DEF eat-NARR very.much

3. Yaal-ii wii heñ-oh-in rek! 'This man has only been fighting!'

man-DEF DEM fight-DUR-PERF only (i.e. he has done nothing but fighting')

4.2.4. Ideophonic adverbs

Ideophonic adverbs resemble the intensifying adverbs in their function of raising the degree of intensity in the action, and, normally, they are replaceable by one of these. However, ideophonic adverbs collocate with a small and closed set of verbs only. The adverb is very closely connected to the verb and occurs, normally, without interposition of another clause component. The function and structure of these adverbs is covered by the term 'ideophones', as it is used by Houis (1977). He makes the following distinction of ideophones:

- Ideophones always occur in clause final position
- Ideophones are extrasystemic in that they do not necessarily follow the phonological rules. In addition, they are often pronounced with a lengthened vowel or at an abnormal tone height.
- Semantically, ideophones are linked to specific contexts, and the translation 'very' can only partially account for their signification. The function of the ideophone is to convey an expressive value.

As Houis points out, some of the ideophones do not follow the phonological rules ("*la forme canonique*") of the language. This is obvious in Noon ideophones in that, firstly, the final -r̥ is pronounced and secondly, the final consonant, or in some cases the vowel, may be prolonged to enhance the intensity of the utterance. Normally, these adverbs occur in a prepausal position, where a possible complement is omitted and implicit.

Examples of these ideophones are:

- | | | |
|---------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. tak | leehin tak | 'it has finished completely' |
| 2. fiis | sagin fiis | 'he totally refused' |
| 3. pút | kapin pút | 'he is completely full' |
| 4. jír | tamba jír | 'it was very hot' |
| 5. dúr | yaanaawin ¹³ dúr | 'it is very white' |
| 6. coy | yo'ohin coy | ' " red' |
| 7. ník | súusúusin ník | ' " black' |

4.2.5. Interrogative adverbs

The interrogative adverbs are the following:

na 'how'

kera 'when'

These two interrogatives will put the adjunct in question, and they occur in the post-verbal position of the corresponding adjunct in the clause. Note that in order to put a locative adjunct (PP) in question, the interrogative gada 'where' is used. However, this interrogative is treated among the pronouns (see 2.4.2.5.) since it refers both to locative object NPs and to locative adjuncts. This is also in agreement with our interpretation that there are no proper locative adverbs.

Na, 'how', refers to a manner adjunct:

1. Fu tum-ee na bi fu hay-ya dii? 'How did you do to come here?'

you(sg) do-PAST how until you(sg) come-NARR here

2. Fu teek-u na? 'How are you called? (What's your name?)'

you(sg) name-PASS how

¹³Note that all colours in Noon are expressed by stative verbs.

Kera, 'when', refers to a temporal adjunct

3. Sagac-caa hay-u kera? 'When did the guests arrive?'

guests-DEF come-PLUR when

4. Fu hay ki-ñam kera? 'When will you eat?'

you(sg) will(AUX) INF-eat when

5. VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

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5.3.4.2. Optative

5.4. Object pronoun suffixes

5.5. Auxiliaries

5.5.1. Transitivity

5.5.2. Tense/aspect

5.5.3. Negation

Like the noun, the verb carries a range of affixes. Present in the verb are derivational, conjugational and object affixes. Conjugational marking is normally obligatory in the verb. It can only appear in its unmarked root/stem form when expressing an affirmative simple present, which can be said to be marked by a zero suffix, or in certain clauses that require an unmarked form of the verb (see 8.2). In addition to the conjugational affixes, the verb may also take one or two object suffixes.

The derivational suffixes are quite numerous, and it is not uncommon to find up to three derivational suffixes in the same verb, but there seems to be a practical limit at four suffixes.

1. malaksukoh (<malak-is-uk-oh)

'observe'

look-INT-REFL-DUR

2. ñēmírisnee (<ñam-íd-is-nee)

'go and feed again'

eat-TRANS-REP-DIST

3. neehlukohis (neeh-luk-oh-is)

'make fall asleep again'

sleep-FACT-DUR-REP

However, there are restrictions as to what suffixes may occur together. Most suffixes have a very fixed position in the verb, while a few, such as pluractional/instrumental -oh, are more mobile. The derivational suffixes have a crucial rôle to play in the transitivity of the verb in that, although verb roots can be divided into degrees of transitivity,

practically all verbs may be assigned increased valency by the use of a derivational suffix, such as the transitivity -íd, or the benefactive -id, but also the locative -oh. In the same way, some derivational suffixes may produce reduced valency in the verb, such as the reflexive -uk or the pluractional/instrumental -oh. The structure of the different components of the verb can be described as follows:

verb stem = verb root (+ derivational suffix(es))

verb = (conjugational prefix) verb stem (+ conjugational suffix(es)) (+ object suffix(es))

5.1. The verb root

The vast majority of the verb roots are formed by the CVC pattern¹. There are a few multisyllabic verb roots, but most of them consist of a derivation suffix that has lost its original meaning and thus become a frozen part of the root, as in the examples below, where keloh and súkúruk seem to bear the derivational suffixes -oh and -uk, but the semantic rôle of these suffixes is not distinguishable, and, furthermore, these verbs do not ever occur without these morphemes. If a verb root is multisyllabic, it still always has a closed final syllable.

verb root

hay	'come'	CVC
tum	'do, make'	CVC
neeh	'sleep'	CVC
hood	'be long'	CVC

¹The syllable may contain a long or a short vowel element, but since long vowels are interpreted phonologically as one vowel phoneme, the syllable patterns remains unchanged (see also 1.1.11.), although represented in the orthography by two letters.

'íis ²	'leave alone, let go'	CVC
keloh	'hear'	CV.CVC
súkúruk	'listen'	CV.CV.CVC

On the basis of morphological structures and semantic features, verb roots can be divided into stative verbs and action verbs.

5.1.1. Stative verbs

The stative verbs form the group that may take the adjectivising derivational suffix -í, in order to form adjectives. Semantically, the stative verbs differ from the action verb in that they express the end state of a process, rather than a punctual action. This is particularly clear in their affirmative perfective forms, where the stative verb denotes a present state, whereas the action verb points out a recently achieved action. Most stative verbs also carry a punctual meaning, in denoting the action of entering into the state in question, in which case their function is inchoative. The stative verb is normally intransitive, but it may in some cases take an animate object, although this object functions more as a indirect object which can be replaced by a prepositional phrase (see 5.4. and 8.1.1.2.).

Examples of stative verbs:

aay	'be gifted, strong'
hood	'be long'
kap	'be satisfied'
líif	'be full'

²The glottal stop is marked here in order to give a correct phonological comparison of the syllable structure. Elsewhere in this study (except in chapter 1), a word initial glottal stop is not marked, since it is predictable preceding a vowel (according to the orthography described in 1.4.).

lúud	'be ripe'
mod	'be pretty'

5.1.2. Action verbs

The action verb roots can be described with respect to their valency and thus be divided into intransitive, transitive and ditransitive verbs:

5.1.2.1. Intransitive verbs

Intransitive verbs, such as the following, cannot take a complement, and they do not require any other obligatory component:

íik	'breathe'
ḡof	'bark'
keen	'fall'
fool	'run'

5.1.2.2. Transitive verbs

Transitive verbs have the possibility to take one complement. However, in many cases this complement may be implicit, implied by the situation or the context. The complement may be an NP, either a patient or a locative object (see 6.2.2.1., 6.2.2.2.), or, if the object is [+animate] and represented by a pronoun, an object pronoun suffix on the verb. The complement may also be a PP, when the verb is phrasal or partitive (see 6.2.2.3.) Examples of transitive verbs with implicit or explicit complements:

malak	'look'
1. Malkaa! (< malak-aa)	'Look!'
look-IMP	

2. Mi malkindi (< malak-in-ri) 'I have looked at him/her.'

I look-PERF-OBJ(3sg)

lom 'buy'

3. Fu yii lom-e? 'Are you buying (it)?'

you(sg) PROG buy-PQ

4. Dí hay ki-lom ndimu kanak. 'We will buy two skirtcloths.'

we.EXCL will(AUX) INF-buy skirtcloth two

kad 'leave, go to'

5. 'Beti-faa karin (< kad-in). 'The woman has left.'

woman-DEF leave-PERF

6. 'Beti-faa kar-in kaan ee-ci. 'The woman has gone to her mother's house.'

woman-DEF leave-PERF house mother-REL(3sg)

ñam ga 'eat of'

7. Mi ñam-in ga. 'I have eaten of (it).'

I eat-PERF PART

8. Dí ñam-in ga maal-aa. 'We have eaten some of the rice.'

we(EXCL) eat-PERF PART rice-DEF

5.1.2.3. Ditransitive verbs

A few verb roots are ditransitive and take two complements, direct and indirect. Just as for the transitive verbs, the direct object may be implicit, but the indirect object always

has to be explicitly stated. The indirect object is always animate, and it precedes the direct object in all situations, whether it is a pronoun suffix or a NP.

on 'give'

1. Fu on-ba hëelís. 'You give them money.'
you(sg) give-OBJ(3pl) money

2. Ba on ðeti-caa wa. 'They give it to the women.'
they give women-DEF OBJ(C1.sg)

teeß 'show, present'

3. Mi teeß-paa (< teeß-raa) yiiya. 'I present mother to you.'
I present-OBJ(2sg) mother

4. Mi teeß-paa-ri (< teeß-raa-ri). 'I present her to you.'
I present-I.OBJ(2sg)-D.OBJ(3sg)

5.2. Derivational suffixes

As we have seen, the derivational suffixes together with the verb root form the verb stem. Thus, the stem operates as the core of the verb, conjugated according to its function in the clause. Similarly to conjugational affixes marking aspect, many of the derivational affixes modify the sense or the aspect of the verb. For example, both the repetitive and the perfective mark the aspect of the performance of the action, but the first is interpreted as a derivation ('Aktionsart') and the second as a conjugation (aspect). The distinguishing features between the derivational and conjugational aspect suffixes are that the derivational suffixes always follow directly on the root, followed by

conjugational suffixes, and they may occur with all types of conjugations. Conjugational aspect suffixes, on the other hand, are mutually exclusive and follow the tense marking suffix.

In the predicate, all verbs may appear in their root form, with the appropriate conjugational affixes, but all verbs may also be modified by one or more derivational suffixes. When the derivational suffixes are added to the root to form the verb stem, this will function in the same positions as the root itself. There are over ten different derivational suffixes, but normally only combinations of up to three suffixes occur in the verb. The order of the suffixes is determined by the degree to which the suffixes are connected to the verb root. Closely following the root are the suffixes that are more closely connected to the specific verb, and that totally change the lexical meaning of the verb, such as -ís 'reversive' and -íd 'transitive'. It is interesting to see that the two suffixes closest to the root, are the ones with [+ATR] vowels. Not only are these the suffixes most closely bound to the root, but also, they are the only ones capable of inflicting morphophonological change in the root itself, through vowel harmony (see 1.3.7.). The suffixes in a later position function not to radically change the sense of the verb, but to modify it. These are more loosely connected to the verb, which is also seen in that, although they have fixed positions, they may occur in other places to give a different angle to the meaning. Typical examples of the loose suffixes are the repetitive -is, -oh 'pluractional/instrumental/locative' and -nee 'directional'. All other suffixes can be placed on the scale of being more or less connected to the verb. There are restrictions as to what suffixes may occur together. For example, it is clear that, for reasons of semantic incompatibility, suffixes -luk 'factitive' and -uk 'reflexive' never co-occur, and neither do -oh 'pluractional/instrumental' and -doh 'apportative'. (The sharing of the same position is marked below by a slash between the two suffixes.)

This is the order in which the suffixes are being found in the verb:

-ís	'reversive'
-íd	'transitive'
-is	'intensive'
-luk	'factitive'
/-uk	'reflexive'
-oh	'pluractional/instrumental/locative'
/-doh	'apportative'
-id	'benefactive'
-aat	'repetitive'
-is	'repetitive'
-nee	'distal'

5.2.1. Reversive -ís

The reversive suffix only occurs with quite a small number of verbs that all denote an action of placing an object in a certain position, which is inherently reversible, and the reversive then expresses the action of removing the object from that position. As seen in the morphophonology (1.3.7.), -ís induces vowel changes in the verb root, according to the vowel harmony process. Verbs that take the reversive suffix are for example:

<u>verb root</u>		<u>with the reversive suffix -ís</u>
1. lag	'close'	lëg-ís 'open'
2. laag	'cook/ put on the fire'	lëeg-ís 'take away from the fire'
3. tēc	'lock'	tēc-ís 'unlock'
4. pok	'attach'	pëk-ís 'detach'
5. wíñ	'hang (out to dry)'	wíñ-ís 'take away (from line, etc.)'
6. hej	'fight'	hëj-ís 'separate fighters'

There are some verbs that end in -ís, but where a reversive sense is not distinguishable, and where a counterpart verb without the -ís, if it does exist, does not have a related meaning. Some verbs can be seen as having a reversive meaning, but the counterpart verb without the -ís are no longer attested. Examples of such verbs are:

- | | | | |
|-----------|------------|-------|--------------------|
| 7. mēlkís | 'taste' | malak | 'look' |
| 8. nēewís | 'diminish' | naaw | 'wash the laundry' |

5.2.2. Transitive -íd

The suffix -íd is the second closest to the verb of the derivational suffixes. Two types of morphophonological changes are involved with this suffix. First, like the reversive suffix, the [+ATR] vowel of the transitive suffix induces vowel harmony in the verb root, in accordance with the vowel harmony rules described in 1.3.4. Secondly, the implosive -ɗ has the following realisations:

- in the syllable coda position, the implosive -ɗ is realised as a glottal (as in léehí < leeh-íd)
- intervocalically as r (as in léehíraa < leeh-íd-aa)
- in the syllable onset when, as a result of vowel deletion, it comes to follow directly on a consonant, it remains as -ɗ (as in léehɗuk < leeh-íd-uk)

The function of -íd is that of increasing the valency of the verb. It adds an argument to the predicate, making the verb either transitive or ditransitive:

intransitive verb + -íd becomes transitive

transitive verb + -íd becomes ditransitive

as in the examples:

intransitive verb root+ transitive suffix -íd

- | | |
|-------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. leeh 'finish' | léeh-íd 'finish something' |
| 2. soos 'be cold' | sóos-íd 'chill somebody/something' |

transitive verb root+ transitive suffix -íd

- | | |
|----------------|---------------------------|
| 3. lom 'buy' | lóm-íd 'buy for somebody' |
| 4. ñam 'eat' | ñëm-íd 'feed' |
| 5. jag 'learn' | jëg-íd 'teach' |

Frequently, the ditransitive product of the suffixing of -íd gives the verb a causative sense, as seen in the last two examples. The ditransitive function of -íd is quite close to that of the benefactive -íd³, which also adds transitivity to the verb in making it possible to add a beneficiary object (see 5.2.8.). If the transitive suffix is followed by another suffix, the vowel may be deleted, and -ɗ- surfaces as an implosive since it appears in the syllable onset. However, the trace of the vowel is left in the [+ATR] feature of the vowel of the verb root (see also 1.3.7.):

6. leeh + íd + uk → léehíduk → léehɗuk 'finish oneself, die'

finish-TRANS-REFL

7. ñam + íd + in → ñëmíɗin → ñëmɗin 'have fed'

eat-TRANS-PERF

³It is difficult to say if these two suffixes have a shared source. It is true that they have great similarities, both in form and function. However, the difference in [ATR] feature increases the differences in the produced stems, where the root vowel changes with the suffix -íd. Still, it is possible to make the hypothesis of one original suffix, with the benefactive as one of its functions, but where the position of the benefactive function, further away from the root, has influenced its vowel quality (the existing [+ATR] suffixes are all closest to the root).

5.2.3. Intensive -is

The suffix -is has two separate functions in different positions of the verb stem: it may give an intensive or iterative meaning to the verb, or it may add a strictly one-time repetitive aspect to the verb. (The repetitive function of -is is described in 5.2.10.) When appearing closer to the verb, it is the intensive sense that is being added to the verb. The intensive -is is much less common and productive than the repetitive, and it is linked to certain verbs. Suffixed by -is, certain action verbs express the action as being performed a number of times, or with more intensity than what is normal. Generally, the intensive suffix is combined with the reflexive -uk and/or the associative -oh, as in the examples:

1. gúr 'cut'	gúr-is	'chop into pieces'
2. kaal 'hunt'	kaalsuk (<kaal-is-uk)	'go hunting'
3. malak 'see'	malaksukoh/malkiskoh (<malak-is-uk-oh)	'observe'
4. wo' 'say'	wo'sukoh (<wo'-is-uk-oh)	'babble'
5. ñam 'eat'	ñamisoh (<ñam-is-oh)	'eat like an animal'

Quite often, the intensive suffix brings a derogatory interpretation to the verb, as in the last two examples.

5.2.4. Factitive -luk

The suffix -luk expresses a factitive notion in that the subject makes somebody do something, or has something done by somebody. The factitive suffix is incompatible with the reflexive -uk, where the agent and the beneficiary or patient are identical.

od' 'grind'

1. Ya o'luk (<od-luk) tohoo-taa ga mësíid-aa.

s/he grind-FACT millet-DEF at machine-DEF

'She has the millet ground at the machine (mill)'.

lap 'mount'

2. Fu jom-oo ki-lap-luk 6o' ga sareet-ii wii.

you should(AUX)-PRES.NEG INF-mount-FACT person in cart-DEF DEM

'You shouldn't make anyone get into this cart.'

ne6 'be pleasant' ne6luk 'be pleased'

3. Namah-ii wii ne6lukindoo (< ne6-luk-in-roo) lool. 'I like this food very much.'

food-DEF DEM be.pleasant-FACT-PERF-OBJ(1sg) very

5.2.5. Reflexive -uk

The reflexive suffix is very productive and occurs with a large number of verbs. There are two different situations where the reflexive suffix is used:

- a) to express that agent and patient of the verb are identical
- b) to express an ability of the subject

In both these functions, the result is an intransitive verb; in the first case an intransitive action verb, in the second a stative verb. The two functions will be presented below:

a) The main function of a reflexive suffix in a verb is to express that the subject, or the agent, is identical with the object or patient of the action. This function comes close to that of a 'middle' voice where the action is performed with the subject, or anything connected to him/her, benefiting from it. Thus, only one noun/pronoun, the subject, is needed to express both agent and patient, and the verb is made intransitive. Examples of this use of -uk are:

verb root

1. faan 'lay'

with the reflexive suffix -uk

faan-uk 'lie down'

2. book	'wash'	book-uk	'wash (oneself)'
3. yoos	'bring sth down'	yoos-uk	'descend'
4. koor	'put on somebody's head'	koor-uk	'carry on one's head'

The -uk can also be described as reflexively benefactive. Just as the benefactive suffix -id denotes that the action is beneficial to the object, so the suffix -uk expresses that the subject itself is the beneficiary or the one to be exposed to the action, which could also be described as the patient, although not functioning strictly as the object. This is obvious in verbs like:

5. tag	'permit'	tag-uk	'ask for permission for oneself'
6. ndiidis	'remind'	ndiidis-uk	'remember'

Some verbs have the morpheme -uk where it is not possible for it to be removed in any position, and without the morpheme -uk the verb bears no sense. Here, -uk must be seen as a frozen suffix which has become part of the root:

7. kuliuk	'govern, lead'
8. ḡulucuk	'surround'

b) The second use of the reflexive suffix -uk is to form the sense of possibility, often expressed in English by the suffix '-able'. In this function, the verb becomes stative, expressing 'be ... -able', as in the examples:

an 'drink'

9. Músú-mii ankin (<an-uk-in) 'The water is drinkable'

water-DEF drink-REFL-PERF

wo' 'say'

10. lñãa-ma wo'kin (<wo'-uk-in). 'That is possible to say.'

P.I-REF say-REFL-PERF

dawal 'drive'

11. Waas-aa wúunee dawalkoo (<dawal-uk-oo). 'The road over there is not passable.'

road-DEF DEM drive-REFL-PRES.NEG

5.2.6. -oh

The use of -oh is quite complex since the suffix bears several different semantic functions. To some extent, the use of -oh is determined by discourse features, as when the durative -oh is used to represent backgrounding information, or when locative -oh is used to increase the valency of a verb by making it locative. However, there are three clearly separate functions that can be distinguished and which will be described separately: pluractional, instrumental, and locative.

5.2.6.1. Pluractional

The pluractional use of the suffix can be divided into two separate functions:

- durative

- reciprocal

The common feature of these two functions is the plurality of actions; either by the same person, as in the durative, or by several persons, as in reciprocal. The two functions will be described separately. In most occurrences, the suffix -oh precedes the benefactive suffix -id, but on some occasions, the durative and reciprocal -oh follow the benefactive, as in:

1. amdoh (< ab-id-oh) 'help'

hold-BEN-DUR

2. haydoh (< hay-id-oh) 'be loyal to, declare solidarity with a person'

come-BEN-REC

3. kelohdoh (< keloh-id-oh) 'agree with'

understand-BEN-REC

5.2.6.1.1. Durative -oh

The durative -oh is used to give the verb the aspect of a lengthy or habitual action, sometimes turning it into a state of repeatedly performing the action. The impact of the suffix in the verb is seen in that when it is present, the action has a less limited timeframe and it represents more of a state of doing the action for some time. When the suffix is absent in the same verb, the action is notified as more punctual and specified. An example is the verb kěńíđ 'greet', which with the suffix -oh signifies the action of going around greeting people in general. However, if a specific person is the target of the greeting, the durative suffix is absent:

1. Fu yāh gada? Mi yāh kikěńđohnee (< ki-kěńíđ-oh-nee).

you(sg) go where I go INF-greet-DUR-DIST

'Where are you going! I'm going to greet (people).'

2. ʔu Padee kěńí'taa (< kěńíđ-raa) ga. 'The people of Fandène greet you.'

people Fandène greet-OBJ(2sg) PART

Similarly, the verb meekis 'ask', signifies asking a specific question to one or several persons. With the durative suffix, meekisoh, the meaning is modified to represent the

action of asking an unspecified number of question, or to different people. Other examples of the durative use of the suffix -oh are:

lín 'cultivate'

3. Daa ɓa lín-oh-nee ɗa, úsaay-in lool.

P.REL they cultivate-DUR-DIST REL.M, be.far-PERF very

'Where they (normally) went to cultivate was very far.'

yoon 'warm (the hands by the fire)'

4. Ya'ɓaa (<ya'ɓu-aa) fetta (<fet-ra) kiwii ki-yoon-uk-oh.

old.woman-DEF light-NARR fire INF-warm-REFL-DUR

'The old woman lit a fire to warm her hands.'

heñ (<hej/heñ⁴) 'fight'

5. Paapu (<paam-fu) karin (<kaɗ-in) ki-hěj-ís-oh.

father-REL(2sg) leave-PERF INF-fight-REV-DUR

'Your father has gone to make peace (separate between the fighters).'

5.2.6.1.2. Reciprocal -oh

The reciprocal use of -oh indicates that the verb is performed between two or more participants, or groups of participants and that all have equal part in the action or state.

The suffix can also be said to express simultaneous actions of several actors, but the actions have to be performed in communion and not separately.

1. ɓed 'accompany' ɓed-oh 'go together'

⁴This verb has two root forms occurring as variants; one with a palatal nasal, the other with a plosive. This variation becomes obvious in different derivations: in this case it is the plosive which forms the root, in 5.2.6.1.2., ex. 4, it is the nasal.

2. híd	'be similar	híd-oh	'meet'
3. maas	'witness'	maas-oh	'participate'

In some verbs, the reciprocity is a necessary component of the notion of the verb itself. These verbs are not derived from other, non-reciprocal verbs, but from nouns, as in the examples below:

4. heñ	'a battle'	heñ-oh	'fight'
5. fiiliimun	'a friend'	fiiliimun-oh	'be friends'

The reciprocal verbs are all intransitive, since the subject includes all participants.

Compare the following examples:

6. Mi bendaa (<bed-raa) ga waas-aa. 'I'll accompany you on the way.'

I accompany-OBJ(2sg) on way-DEF

7. Du hay ki-bed-oh ga waas-aa. 'We will go together on the way.'

we.INCL will(AUX) INF-accompany-REC on way-DEF

If the subject of a reciprocal verb is not in the plural, as above, a prepositional phrase with the preposition na obligatorily follows the verb, to indicate the fellow actor with whom the reciprocal action is performed:

8. Mi hídooha (<híd-oh-ra) na eefu (<eew-fu) ga waas-aa.

I meet-REC-NARR with mother-REL(2sg) on way-DEF

'I met your mother on the way.'

but in the plural:

9. Dí hídooha (<híd-oh-ra) ga waas-aa. 'We met on the way.'

we.EXCL meet-REC-NARR on way-DEF

5.2.6.2. Instrumental -oh

This, very specific use of the suffix, puts the focus on the instrument with which the action is performed. This use of the suffix can be seen as quite close to the reciprocal one, in that both express a sense of association. However, since the instrumental suffix always requires a PP, which the reciprocal only does when governed by a singular subject, it is treated separately. A verb with the instrumental -oh is always followed by a prepositional phrase containing the preposition na. The PP indicates the instrument of the action, introduced by the preceding -oh. The function can be seen in the following examples:

1. Mi ñam na yiiya. 'I eat with mother.'

I eat with mother

2. Mi ñam-oh na kudu. 'I eat with a spoon'

I eat-INSTR with spoon

5.2.6.3. Locative -oh

This function of -oh differs quite significantly from its other uses. While the durative use of the suffix will reduce the valency of the verb, the locative use will do the opposite. The use of locative -oh is to a large extent governed by discourse features and the constituent order in the clause, while this is less the case with its other functions.

The function of locative -oh is to turn the verb into a locative verb. However, there are restrictions as to where and when this function may be used. The suffix is not used in general terms to locativise any verb, but it mainly functions in situations where a locative adjunct must be expressed by a NP in a fronted position in the clause. Since an

adjunct cannot be expressed by a NP, the locative adjunct must be made a complement of the verb. When the verb is made locative, by the suffix -oh, the locative NP can function as a locative object. The situations where this adjunct fronting may occur are:

- when an adjunct is the head of a relative clause (8.2.1.1.2.)
- when an adjunct is topicalised through thematic fronting, and marked for focus (10.4.2.3.)

1. Mi ínoh-oo daa fu en-oh da. 'I don't know where you are.'

I know-PRES.NEG P.REL you be-LOC REL.M.

2. Waas-aa-ma wërí mi keen-oh-ee. 'It was on that road that I fell.'

road-DEF-REF P.EMPH I fall-LOC-PAST

3. Waas-aa-ma wërí mi hot-oh-ee-ri. 'It was on that road that I saw him/her.'

road-DEF-REF P.EMPH I see-LOC-PAST-OBJ(3sg)

Locative -oh can be suffixed to any verb, but it will in all cases increase its valency in adding a locative object. In example 2 above, it is added to an intransitive verb which is thus made transitive. In example 3, the transitive verb hot 'see' is made ditransitive, with patient/locative objects (see 6.2.3.2.).

Two things must be noted on the use of locative -oh:

- It will not normally occur with a locative object following the verb. Thus, example 3 above could not be expressed in a non-fronted position of the locative NP:

*Mi hot-oh-ee-ri waas-aa-ma.

It would need to be expressed by a locative adjunct:

4. Mi hot-ee-ri ga waas-aa-ma. 'I saw him/her on that road.'

I see-PAST-OBJ(3sg) on road-DEF-REF

On the other hand, if the locative NP were expressed as an adjunct, the suffix -oh would be possible in the verb, but then denoting a durative aspect:

5. Mi hot-oh-ee-ri ga waas-aa-ma. 'I looked for him/her on that road.'

I see-PAST-DUR-OBJ(3sg) on road-DEF-REF

- No other adjuncts than the locative will, when expressed by a NP in a fronted position, cause the use of locative -oh in the verb. Thus, modal or temporal adjuncts that are focused will be expressed as a NP with a relative clause, as in example 6:

6. Wútúwaa, wërí en bes-aa mi hot-ee-ri ða. 'It was yesterday that I saw him/her.'

yesterday P.EMPH be day-DEF I see-PAST-OBJ(3sg) REL.M

5.2.7. Apportative -doh

The use of the suffix -doh is restricted to a small group of verbs, and in all these the suffix gives the verb a signification of movement when something is brought from one place to another. It is possible that the spatial notion of the consonant d-, as a locative agreement marker in the nominal morphology (see 2.1.2.3.), has an impact in this suffix as well, and the suffix could be seen as a fusion of the locative marker d- and the durative -oh. Examples of verbs with the suffix -doh are:

- | | | | |
|----------|------------|-----------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. hay | 'come' | hay-doh | 'fetch' |
| 2. ðay | 'call' | ðay-doh | 'bring' |
| 3. deey' | 'be close' | deey'-doh | 'approach, bring oneself closer' |
| 4. | | lëeh-doh ⁵ | 'announce the news of a death' |

⁵In this example, no root form of the verb is attested.

5.2.8. Benefactive -id

Like the transitive suffix -id, the benefactive suffix increases the valency of the verb. It is quite difficult to make the semantic distinction between the two suffixes functioning in ditransitive clauses, but the general observation is that the benefactive suffix functions to denote that the action is done:

- a) for the benefit of somebody, or
- b) on somebody's behalf.

An action done for the benefit of a person is often synonymous with a ditransitive construction, and in verbs like lómíid 'buy for somebody', the indirect object is going to benefit from the action, but it is the transitive suffix -id that is being used. In the following example, on the other hand, the action is still for the benefit of a person, but here the suffix is the benefactive, although in both these examples the action involves doing something and giving the result to the beneficiary⁶.

tum 'do, make' tum-id 'do for the benefit of somebody'

1. Mi tumi'taa (<tum-id-raa) yen bi iñaá fu meekis yáal-fu 6ée6, ya e'taa (<ed-raa).
I make-BEN-OBJ(2sg) something so.that P.REL you ask husband-REL(2sg) all he give-OBJ(2sg)
'I'll make you something that will make your husband give you anything you ask for.'

If the action is done on somebody's behalf, rather than involving giving something to somebody, the benefactive suffix is clearly distinguished from the transitive, and it is the only one possible in these situations:

toon 'sell' toon-id 'sell on somebody's behalf'

⁶Note the different realisations of the underlying -d taking place, similar to those with the transitive suffix.

2. Mi tooni'ti (<toon-id-ri) jën. 'I sell fish on his/her behalf.'

I sell-BEN-OBJ(3sg) fish

In the following example, both the transitive and the benefactive suffixes are present: the transitive suffix functions to transitive the intransitive verb, and the benefactive suffix to denote the indirect object, which is also the beneficiary.

hew 'happen'

hëwíd (<hew-íd) 'prepare' hëwdī'(<hew-íd-id) 'prepare for somebody'

happen-TRANS

happen-TRANS-BEN

3. Buur-aa wo' an: Hëwí'dattoo (<hew-íd-id-at-roo) haf, haf-wúrúus!'

king-DEF say COMPL happen-TRANS-BEN-IMP(pl)-OBJ(1sg) head head-gold

'The king said: Prepare for me a head, a head of gold!'

5.2.9. Repetitive -is and -aat

There are two suffixes that may give a repetitive sense to a verb: -is and -aat. They may be used synonymously, but also together.

-is

Unlike the intensive use of this suffix -is (see 5.2.3.), its repetitive use is very productive, and may occur with any type of verb. It is very loosely connected to the verb, and may be followed only by the distal -nee. The sense added to the verb by this suffix is that of the action once-repeated, as in the examples:

1. hay 'come' hay-is 'come back'

2. soot 'be angry' soot-is 'become angry again'

- | | | | |
|----------------|--------------|----------------|--------------------------|
| 3. neeh-luk-oh | 'make sleep' | neeh-luk-oh-is | 'make fall asleep again' |
| 4. lëg-ís | 'open' | lëgís-is | 'reopen' |

It is quite common that the repetitive suffix -is is itself repeated within the same verb, the vowel of the first -is deleted, to produce a suffix -sis. This is especially common in the verb hay 'come':

5. haysis (<hay-is-is) = hayis 'come back, again'

A verb stem with the repetitive suffix -is will, in the negative perfective form, express the notion of no longer (not again):

6. Baay-faa sootissii (<soot-is-rii) 'The dog is no longer angry.'
 dog-DEF be.angry-REP-ASP.NEG

7. Dí línissii (<lín-is-rii) tohoo. 'We don't cultivate millet any more.'
 we.EXCL cultivate-REP-ASP.NEG millet

-aat

The repetitive -aat is fully synonymous with the repetitive -is. The suffix -aat is probably a loan from the Wolof -at, which has the same function as repetitive -is has in Noon. It is being used in Noon in the same positions as -is; some verbs tend to occur more often with -aat than others. -Aat is also used to replace one of the occurrences of -is, most commonly the first, when there is a repetition of the repetitive suffix. Thus, examples like the following are common, which are totally synonymous with the repetitive use of -is:

- | | | | |
|---------------|--------------|---------------|---|
| 8. wo' 'say' | wo'-aat | = wo'-is | 'say again, repeat' |
| 9. hay 'come' | hay-aat-is | = hay-s-is | 'come back, again' |
| 10. | hay-s-aat-is | = hay-s-is-is | 'come back for a third (or more)
time' |

5.2.10. Distal -nee

The distal suffix -nee is the most loosely connected of all derivational suffixes. It indicates that the action of the verb involves moving away in a certain direction to a more or less distant place, to do something or to fetch something. In English, this would often be described by a construction such as "go to...".

heel 'get, search for'

1. Ya jom ki-heel-nee sookooñ. 'She should go to get firewood.'
s/he should(AUX) INF-get-DIST firewood

lín 'cultivate'

2. Daa 6a lín-oh-nee 6a úsaay-in lool. 'Where they go to cultivate is very far away.'
P.REL they cultivate-DUR-DIST REL.M be.distant-PERF very

Some verbs always have to carry the directional suffix, and in others the sense of the verb has deviated some from that of the original root:

3. ne'nee 'get water from a well'
ne' is a noun, 'well', and not a verb

4. koo'nee (<kood-nee) 'fetch, get'
kood has the meaning of 'pass by' or 'put on someone's head (for him/her to carry)'

The suffix -nee has an inherent motional value, and still it commonly occurs with an auxiliary expressing a motion, for example kad 'leave' or yah 'go', which would appear as superfluous since the meaning of the suffix is precisely 'go to'. However, the use of the suffix -nee also indicates that there is a certain distance from the situation of the utterance to where the action can be performed, whereas without the suffix, the distance could be very short or practically non-existent. Thus, the suffix denotes both motion and distance.

5. Mi karin (< kad-in) kijaṅnee (< ki-jag-nee) ga dēk wiliis.

I leave-PERF INF-study-DIST in town other

'I have gone to study in another town.'

6. Hay-aa dii, fu taas-nee paapu (< paam-fu)! 'Come here and answer your father.'

come-IMP DEM.LOC you answer-DIST father-REL(2sg)

The distal suffix appears at the very end of the stem, and it can only be followed by certain conjugational suffixes: the imperative (example 7) and the narrative (example 8), and the unmarked simple present tense. In all other situations, aspects and tenses have to be assigned to an auxiliary. Followed by the imperative suffix -aa, the vowels of the distal suffix are deleted, as shown in example 7 below (see also 1.3.5.):

7. Lomnaa (< lom-nee-aa) suuka'! 'Go and buy sugar!'

buy-DIST-IMP sugar

8. Jakal kolkohha (< koluk-oh-ra) daa-ma, ka'neera (< kad-nee-ra) yop-aa.

hyena stand-DUR-NARR DEM.LOC-REF, leave.for-DIST-NARR herd-DEF

'Hyena stood up right there, and went to the herd.'

5.3. Conjugational affixes and particles

5.3.1. A general outline of the conjugational system

The conjugational system in Noon is operating through three different types of realisations in the verb phrase:

- a) affixes
- b) particles
- c) auxiliaries

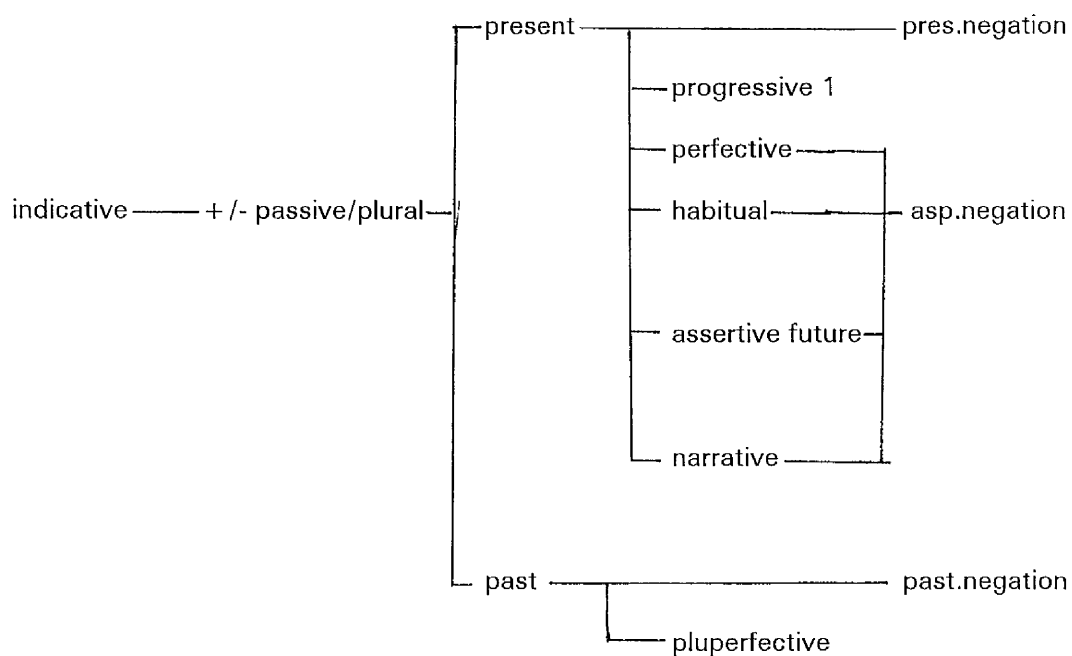
The affixes consist of one prefix, the infinitive ki-, and twelve suffixes. The particles are words that are separate but dependent on the verb. The two conjugational particles, the progressive and the prohibitive, have preverbal positions, and act as a conjugation of the verb that appears in its unmarked (simple present) form. The affixes and the particles all inflect a single verb, but they have no independent status. The auxiliaries, however, carry a more independent status and will be described in a separate section of this chapter (5.5.), and their function in the conjugational system will follow in the chapter on the verb phrase (6.3.).

5.3.1.1. Chart of conjugations

The conjugational system distinguishes the following possible forms of the verb:

mood voice/number tense aspect negation

infinitive — + /- passive/plural — + /- habitual



imperative — + /- plural — prohibitive

optative — opt.negation

5.3.1.2. The voice/number distinction

The voice/number markers of the verb happen to be isomorphic, but it would probably be true to say that this is one single suffix with the voice function as the primary and most common function of the suffix since it may occur in the majority of transitive verbs, while the plural distinction is just another, specific function of the same suffix, which only occurs under restricted circumstances. The voice/number suffix is realised as -u, -us (or -s-) and -uunun, depending of the mood and aspect of the verb. When distinguishing the voice, the suffix marks the passive form and is consequently applicable to transitive and ditransitive verbs. In its other function, denoting the plural, it only occurs in restricted situations, where the subject is a full noun which is [+animate]. In the imperative mood, the suffix may only represent the number distinction. When the two conditions, that allow for both the plural and the passive functions of the suffix, occur together (an animate noun subject with a transitive verb that could be in the passive), the context has to decide which one of the two is applicable. The active and, on some conditions, the singular are thus implied by the absence of the voice/number marker.

5.3.1.3. Tense and aspect

The separating line between tense and aspect in Noon is not always very clear semantically, but it is possible to distinguish between the groups of tense-prominent and aspect-prominent suffixes. The tense-prominent suffixes are only two: present and past. These two suffixes may occur in their simple form, unmarked for aspect, or followed by an aspect suffix. The simple tense-forms, unmarked for aspect, occur specifically in constructions where there are clausal restrictions on aspect suffixes (see 8.2.2.2. and 9.2.4.). The simple present has a zero-suffix, while the past tense is marked by the suffix -ee. There are restrictions as to with what tense aspect suffixes may occur, and there is only one aspect suffix, the punctual, that can occur both in past and present tense. In the present tense this punctual suffix acts as a narrative aspect marker, and in the past it represents the pluperfective.

There are four aspect-prominent suffixes, and one aspect, the progressive, is formed by the progressive particle:

perfective	<u>-in</u>
assertive future	<u>-an</u>
habitual	<u>-i</u>
punctual	<u>-ra</u>
progressive	<u>Cii/Caa/Cum</u>

All of these suffixes and particles may occur in the present tense, but, as mentioned, only the punctual aspect suffix may follow the past tense marker.

Negation modifications differ according to the tense and aspect of the verb. In the present forms, there are two negation suffixes that occur depending on if the verb is aspect-prominent or not. In the simple present form, i.e. a zero suffix, it takes the present negation, while the aspect-prominent forms take the aspect negation. Some aspects, the progressive and the punctual (narrative and pluperfective), do not have a corresponding negation modification that still expresses that aspect. This lies in the semantic rôle of the aspect: a negated action cannot be punctual or progressive. Thus, a negation in this case changes its aspect and is expressed by its new function (the progressive normally by a present negation and the punctual by an aspect negation). The past tense suffix has a separate negation modification, which is used for the negations of both simple past and pluperfective forms of the verb.

5.3.2. Infinitive

The infinitive form of the verb occurs as the head of a VP, or, nominalised, as the head of a NP. The infinitive is marked by the prefix ki-, that occurs immediately before the

stem. As stated in Nominal Morphology (see 2.2.2.), the nominalised infinitive takes the noun class 4. In the VP, it is always preceded by an auxiliary. Examples of infinitives are:

ki-ñam	'to eat'
ki-lëgís	'to shut'
ki-malak	'to look'
ki-súkúruk	'to listen'
ki-neḅ	'to be pleasant'
ki-hillii	'to be green'

5.3.2.1. Voice/number

The infinitive makes the distinctions between active/passive by the passive suffix -u added to the stem (see examples 1 and 2 below). As noted above in 5.3.1.2., this passive suffix may have a different function, provided that the subject is an animate noun, marking the verb as plural. When the suffix marks the plural, there is an alternation in the usage between it being suffixed to the auxiliary or to the infinitive (as shown in examples 3 and 4). Both alternatives seem to be accepted, although it is more commonly found suffixed to the finite verb (ex. 3):

1. Alaak jom ki-ñam-u na haaw. 'Beans should be eaten with couscous.'

beans should(AUX) INF-eat-PASS with couscous

2. Ki-feek-u meskin (< mesik-in). 'To be hit hurts.'

INF-hit-PASS hurt-PERF

3. Beti-caa hay-u ki-ham. 'The women will dance.'

women-DEF will(AUX)-PLUR INF-danse

or

4. Beti-caa hay ki-ham-u.

women-DEF will{AUX} INF-danse-PLUR

5.3.2.2. Habitual

Unlike the other aspectual suffixes, the habitual may also occur in the infinitive mood. Nevertheless, it is not interpreted as a derivational suffix since it occurs following the passive suffix, both in the indicative and infinite forms. The habitual is formed by the suffix -i. The habitual suffix may also indicate a generic aspect, as will be explained below in the indicative use of the suffix (5.3.3.2.4.). Example of the habitual aspect in the infinitive:

Haaw maañ-in kiñamsi (<ki-ñam-us-i) na mesip.

couscous have.long-PERF INF-eat-PASS-HAB with sauce

'Couscous has long been eaten with a sauce.'

5.3.3. Indicative

5.3.3.1. Voice/number

The indicative takes the passive/plural suffix -u, -us or -uunun. The distribution of these is as follows, exemplified respectively in the examples:

-u following the verb stem, when no other conjugational suffixes occur⁷

-(u)s followed by another conjugational suffix, except the perfective (the vowel is often deleted)

-uunun combined with the perfective aspect

⁷However, this suffix is used when, for example, a sentence particle is suffixed to the verb.

Examples as a passive marker:

1. Mi lím-u ga Padee. 'I was born in Fandène.'
I have.child-PASS in Fandène
2. Jën-aa ñamsi (< ñam-us-i) na maalu. 'Fish is eaten (habitually) with rice.'
fish-DEF eat-PASS-HAB with rice
3. Jën-aa tóoh ñam-uunun. 'The whole fish has been eaten.'
fish-DEF all eat-PASS.PERF

As a plural marker:

4. 'Beti-caa ham-u ga feet-aa. 'The women dance at the feast.'
women-DEF dance-PLUR at feast-DEF
5. Yaal-caa ka'seera (< kaɗ-us-ee-ra) Dakaa'. 'The men had left for Dakar.'
men-DEF leave.for-PLUR-PAST-PUNCT Dakar
6. Oomaa-caa fool-uunun bes-ii tóoh. 'The children have run all day.'
children-DEF run-PERF(pl) day-DEF all

Note that it is only when the subject is an animate noun that the plural marker occurs suffixed to the verb. If the subject is a pronoun, there is no agreement between the subject and the predicate, even if the pronoun is [+animate]:

7. Ba ham ga feet-aa. 'They dance at the feast.'
they dance at feast-DEF

5.3.3.2. Tense and aspect

As mentioned above, the present and past suffixes are more tense-prominent, while the perfective, assertive future, habitual and punctual are aspect-prominent. In this section, the form of each suffix will be presented with its general use and feature separating it from the other tenses and aspects. The progressive particle which represents the progressive aspect will also be described here.

5.3.3.2.1. Simple present

The present tense form is the simple one with a zero suffix. Its primary usage can be described as the present form unmarked for aspect, as in declarative sentences of the following kind:

1. Mi yah Padee. 'I go to Fandène.'

I go Fandène.

2. Mi waa¹ ki-ñam. 'I want to eat.'

I want(AUX) INF-eat

In the above examples, the verb is followed by a complement (a NP or an infinitive).

However, the simple present cannot be used when the verb is in focus, even if it expresses a present tense. Here, the verb must be marked for aspect. Thus, if example 1 is expressed with focus on the verb rather than the complement, the verb must be marked for aspect, as in example 3 where the aspect is the progressive⁸:

3. Kuwis-aa, mi yii yah. 'Tomorrow, I'll go.'

tomorrow-SUB I PROG go

The simple present form may also be used as a historic present as in example 4:

⁸The basic structure for focus in Noon is end-focus. This is further described in 10.4.2.

4. Baal appa (<ap-ra) ku-pek. Ya wo' ya'ḡaa (<ya'ḡu-aa) an:

hyena kill-NARR DIM-partridge s/he say(SIMPLE PRESENT) old.woman-DEF COMPL

'Hyena killed a young partridge. He said to the old woman:'

The simple present also occurs in constructions where aspect suffixes are not allowed.

These constraints will be explained separately in the cases where they occur (see 8.2.).

5.3.3.2.2. Progressive 1

There are two progressive constructions, which overlap in some respects and differ in others. The progressive 1 is realised by a conjugational particle, while progressive 2 is a construction with the phrasal auxiliary en 'be' (which is described in 6.3.3.). The progressive 1 aspect is formed by the progressive particle combined with the simple present form of a verb that acts as the main verb of the verb phrase.

The progressive particle

The progressive particle is a separate word that bears strong resemblance to the pronouns. It functions in two positions in the clause:

- 1) as the inflection of the verb in the progressive 1 aspect
- 2) as the predicate of a non-verbal clause (see 8.1.2.1. and 8.1.3.1.)

The progressive particle has the following structure:

progressive particle = agreement marker + position marker {1,2,3}

The agreement marker makes the same distinctions as for the agreement pronouns:

class {1-6}

+/- plural

+/- animate

+/- diminutive

The position marker has the same three distinctions as the demonstrative suffix: near speaker -ii, near addressee -um, and distant -aa, which gives 30 possible forms⁹:

wii, wum, waa

fii, fum faa

etc.

The decision to interpret the progressive particle as an conjugational particle, and not as a pronoun, although it shows agreement with the subject noun, is based on the facts that it never occurs in a NP, and that its functions are closely connected to the verb or to the function of a verb in the following ways¹⁰:

⁹When functioning in non-verbal existential clauses, the progressive particle has a negative corresponding form; the negative existential particle (7.2.3.).

¹⁰Particles with a similar function are found in neighbouring languages such as Diola-Fogny (Hopkins 1995), but here they are named "presentative pronouns". In Ndut, a related language in the Cangin group, Morgan describes the "presentatives" as functioning in periphrastic constructions of the verb. He analyses them as consisting of "the medial existential auxiliary aa (or a), plus the singular or plural demonstrative pronoun" (Morgan 1996:97). The function of the "presentative" in Ndut, as presented by Morgan, is restricted to the nominal clause and does not include a progressive aspect with the simple verb.

In Wolof, however, Ka calls these morphemes "inflectional markers" (Ka 1994:51), and Robert, in her description of the verbal system of Wolof, claims that:

"ces morphemes verbaux représentent non seulement des amalgames de valeurs qui les distinguent des autres marques personnelles, mais de plus, ils ne fonctionnent pas comme substituts du nom /.../ En fait, le terme qui désignerait le plus précisément les morphemes du système verbal wolof serait celui d'IPAM, utilisé couramment en linguistique tchadique pour désigner les « Indices de Personne-Aspect-Mode ». " (Robert 1991:22).

Robert chooses to use the term of "conjugaison" for these morphemes, which then would correspond to our use of the term "progressive particle" which is one of two

- The progressive aspect is produced by the verb stem and the particle in collaboration.

Thus, tense and aspect suffixes do not co-occur with this particle.

- In the non-verbal clause, there is no lexical verb to function as predicate, but the aspect particle is there as if an existential verb were implied. In actual fact, a non-verbal clause with the progressive particle is synonymous with a verbal clause with the existential verb en 'be':

1. Mëtí yii dïi. 'Mati is here.'

Mati PROG here

or

2. Mëtí en dïi. 'Mati is here.'

Mati be here

The aspect of the verb, formed by the progressive particle preceding a simple verb, could be described as inceptive/progressive. The action is either on the verge of being started, or it is already in process, as in the examples:

3. Mi yii yah. 'I'm just leaving (in a few seconds).'

I PROG go

4. Mi yii tík. 'I'm cooking (right now).'

I PROG cook

In examples 1, 3 and 4 above, the progressive form is used of an action or a state in the immediate situation of the speaker (in the close form Cii). However, the progressive

"conjugational particles". In Wolof, many of the tenses/aspects are formed by these markers, that occur before or after the verb. In Noon, there is only this one case, together with that of the prohibitive particle, of particles giving the verb its aspect, but there are clear functional parallels between the conjugational particles in Noon and Wolof, which reinforces our decision to interpret them as part of the predicate.

particle also occurs in narration (in the distant form Caa) to express the progressive actions vs. the punctual. In example 5, the narrative is used for the verb 'take', which expresses a punctual, accomplished action, whereas the verb 'mirror herself' is ongoing and expressed in the progressive aspect with the progressive particle:

5. ŋgañ, kowu-kaa, beḅpa (< beḅ-ra) seetu-faa, yaa seetu'-uk.

Ngañ, child-DEF take-NARR mirror-DEF PROG mirror-REFL

'Ngañ, the child, took the mirror and started to mirror herself.'

5.3.3.2.3. Perfective

The perfective aspect is formed by the suffix -in, or -uunun. The latter form is used when the verb is passive or marked by the plural. The general function of the perfective is to denote the accomplishment of an action, where the results thereof are still influencing the present state. This description is valid for the use of the perfective in all verbs, but since the meaning of this aspect differs in reality, according to the type of verb being used, we will look at the perfective in action and stative verbs separately.

In action verbs

The function of the perfective in action verb is, as said, that of the action being completed, but in a recent time so that it still has relevance for the moment of speaking. Normally, the perfective is used for actions being performed during the same day, while previous actions are referred to by the past tense or the narrative:

1. Mi hay-in karam. 'I came recently (today).'

I come-PERF recently

2. Oomaa-caa kar-uunun. 'The children have left (today).'

children-DEF leave-PERF(pl)

3. Fu wo'-in Peer-e? 'Have you told Pierre?'
 you tell-PERF Pierre-PQ

In stative verbs

The perfective of the stative verb expresses the state in the present situation, as in:

4. Kowu-kaa neeh-in. 'The child is sleeping.'
 child-DEF sleep-PERF

5. Noh-ii tam-in. 'The sun is hot.'
 sun-DEF hot-PERF

6. Mi laak-in towu tanak. 'I have two children.'
 I have-PERF children two

7. Ya waarin(<waad-in) kēení. 'S/he likes chili.'
 s/he like-PERF chili

However, many of the stative verbs can also occur expressing the punctual action of the entering into the state. Thus, the verb neeh 'sleep' could be used in the sense of 'falling asleep' as in example 8 below, where it occurs in the narrative. Similarly, the verb laak 'have', can express 'get, receive' as in example 9, where it occurs in the past tense:

8. Kowu-kaa neehha (<neeh-ra). 'The child fell asleep.'
 child-DEF sleep-NARR

9. Wíis, Kodu laak-ee-ra kowu. 'Last year, Kodu had a child.'

last.year Kodu have-PAST-PUNCT child

From this angle, the perfective aspect of the stative verb can be said to be the same as for the action verbs, in that the action of entering into the state is accomplished and finished, but the nature of the stative verbs makes the result of the action even more relevant to the present, since the state entered into remains with the same intensity.

The perfective of the stative verb can have an additional signification, that is to express time-stable properties such as an inherent quality or a characteristic of a noun: the state was entered previously, maybe at the beginning of the existence of the object/person, and the state is still as present as when entered into. The non-perfective aspects of the same verb, on the other hand, can express a state or a characteristic that has been assigned to a person/object for a special, non-time-stable situation. An example of this is the verb waad 'want', which in the perfective expresses the sense of 'like' (a characteristic of that person), as in example 10. In the non-perfective forms, it expresses a punctual wish, which only concerns the present situation (ex. 11):

10. Mi waarin (<waad-in) kop. 'I like palm wine.'

I want-PERF palm.wine

11. Mi waa' (<waad) ki-'an kop. 'I want to drink palm wine (now).'

I want INF-drink palm.wine

5.3.3.2.4. Habitual

As seen in the infinitive mode, the habitual is formed by the suffix -i, and it is used when the verb describes a habit or a characteristic of the subject. It may also carry a generic aspect, denoting timeless events. As such, it often occurs in proverbs, as in example 3 below.

1. Feek-cii fu feeksi (<feek-us-i) dā, en-ee mi-n-aa, mi ka' ki-faay.

beats-DEF you(sg) beat-PASS-HAB REL.M be-PAST I-N-SUB I leave INF-abandon
husband

'If I were beaten like you, I would leave my husband.'

2. Ga lah-aa, línoh-aa lëgëy-i ga yoon-caa.

in rainy.season-DEF farmer-DEF work-HAB in fields-DEF

'In the rainy season, the farmer works in the fields.'

3. Kuum taab-i gaakoy.

'The small palm tree plant takes after the palm tree

seed.'

palm.tree.plant follow-HAB palm.tree.seed

(= 'A son resembles his father')

Not all habits or characteristics are marked by this suffix, and the most obvious restriction is that the habitual is a conjugational suffix, in complementary distribution with other tense/aspects. Thus, the habitual cannot co-occur with, for example, the past tense to express 'used to'. (Past habitual is normally expressed by the auxiliary daanee.)

5.3.3.2.5. Assertive future

There are two ways in Noon of expressing future: with the suffix -an, assertive future, and with the aid of an auxiliary. Although the two future forms may sometimes be used synonymously, they are characterised by a distinct aspect feature. The auxiliary denotes a possibility or a probability in the future. Assertive future which is formed with the suffix -an, on the other hand, is used to denote an action or a state in the immediate future that can be described as either assertive or prescriptive. The assertive future

aspect appears as predictions or as decisions made beforehand about actions in the future that thus are very sure to happen. This can be exemplified in sentences like:

1. Fu keen-an de! 'You will (surely) fall.'
you fall-FUT PTC.EMPH

2. Wati mi ñamandii (< ñam-an-rii). 'Today, I won't eat.'
today I eat-FUT-ASP.NEG

In a prescriptive aspect, the future is close to an order, where there is no questioning or doubt about the fact that the said will occur.

3. Yiiya, fu yug-an dii. 'Mother, you will sit here./Here is a place for you.'
mother you sit-FUT here

Expressed with an auxiliary, the meaning would be the same, but with a nuance of lesser certainty:

4. Yiiya, fu hay dii ki-yuŋ. 'Mother, you are going to sit here.'
mother you will(AUX) here INF-sit

5.3.3.2.6. Narrative

The narrative is formed by the punctual aspect suffix -ra, which entails the regular assimilation of the -r- with the previous consonant (see 1.3.2.4.). This aspect is normally being used to express the punctual actions of a narration or the string of actions that move the plot forward, as in the following examples of four clauses in a serial sentence:

1. Ndew heella (<heel-ra) músú, 'Ndew fetched water,'

Ndew fetch-NARR water

2. ɓookukka (<ɓook-uk-ra) bi setta (<set-ra), 'she washed herself clean,'

wash-REFL-NARR until be.clean-NARR

3. aassa (<aas-ra) túuy, 'she entered the hut,'

enter-NARR hut

4. leefukka (<leef-uk-ra), ekukka (<ek-uk-ra) bi o'oo.

oil-REFL-NARR dress-REFL-NARR until good-looking

'she rubbed oil into her skin, and dressed up.'

5.3.3.2.7. Past

The past tense is formed by the suffix -ee. Like the present, alone it represents the form unmarked for aspect. The past tense is used for actions or states that occurred in the past and that no longer have such a direct influence on the present. For action verbs, we have seen that the perfective aspect is used if the action took place in a recent past (approximately during the same day). Thus, if the action occurred in a more distant time, the past is used. For stative verbs, the past is used as soon as the state has ceased to be.

1. Wútúwaa, mi kar-ee Dakaa' ki-lom-nee maalu.

yesterday I leave.for-PAST Dakar INF-buy-DIST rice

'Yesterday, I went to Dakar to buy rice.'

2. Ku-'oomaa-kaa neeh-ee ga fayaang-fum fum.

'The baby slept in that bed

(near you).'

The past tense is mainly used where there is no exact reference to time or duration of the verb. In the situations where the verb is more specified in this respect, the narrative aspect is used, or the pluperfective if the action had been accomplished already in the time referred to. Therefore, the past is often used to picture the background information, to give the descriptions of a narration, in contrast to the string of action. An example is the introductory verb of all tales: Enee... 'There was/were...'

3. En-ee jakal na ya'bu 'There were a lizard and an old woman.'
be-PAST lizard and old.woman

4. Jakal¹¹ dək-ee ga dūuy túuy-aa ya'ba. 'Lizard lived in an old woman's hut.'
lizard live-PAST in inside hut-DEF old.woman

But to express the action of the story, the narrative is used, as in the following sentence of the same story:

5. Laakka (<laak-ra) bes jakal wo''a (<wo'-ra) an: 'One day lizard said:'
have-NARR day lizard say-NARR COMPL

Like the present tense, the simple past is used without aspect marking on several occasions where there are restrictions on the verb form (see 8.2.).

¹¹Here, the indefinite form of the noun is used since it functions as a proper name in the story.

5.3.3.2.8. Pluperfective (past punctual)

The pluperfective is formed by the punctual suffix -ra following the past tense suffix -ee.

It functions in the same time frames as the past tense, but when the action is more specified and has a distinct limit in time. However, the pluperfective, or past punctual, is distinct from the narrative, which has the same punctual suffix but here it is added to the verb root. In narration, unlike the narrative, the pluperfective is used not to bring the actions line forward, but to bring a descriptive background to the scene, just as the simple past tense. It has to be said that, in many cases, the use of the two forms, simple past and past punctual, are practically synonymous, but a difference can be detected in examples like the following. Here, the answer to the question (ex. 1) can contain the verb either in the past tense (ex. 2) or in the past punctual (ex. 3) with the following nuance in signification:

1. Fu kar-éerfi Padee wútúwaa-n-e? 'Didn't you go to Fandène yesterday?'

you leave.for-PAST.NEG Fandène yesterday-N-PQ

2. Ahaaŋkay, mi en-ee daa-ma! 'Yes, I was there (all day).'

yes I be-PAST there-REF

3. Ahaaŋkay, mi en-ee-ra daa-ma! 'Yes, I was there (for a moment). (I had been there)'

yes I be-PAST-PUNCT there-REF

5.3.3.3. Negation modifications

There are three different forms of negation modification in the indicative mood, linked to the different tenses and aspects described above:

1. the present negative

2. the aspect negative

3. the past negative

5.3.3.3.1. The present negative

The present negative is the negation of the simple present, unmarked form, and the negation marker is -oo. The present negative has the same functions as its corresponding affirmative form. In some cases it is used as the negative of the perfective aspect, as will be explained below, in the discussion on the perfective negative (5.3.3.3.2.). A verb in the progressive aspect has no negative form and will, in the negative, appear with a present negation.

1. Mi ñam-oo koynoh. 'I don't eat meat.'

I eat-PRES.NEG meat

2. Dú inoh-oo iña mi wo' ña-n-e? 'Don't you understand what I say?'

you(pl) understand-PRES.NEG P.REL I say REL.M-N-PQ

5.3.3.3.2. The aspect negative

The aspect negative is marked by the suffix -rii that occurs as the negation of the perfective, habitual and assertive future aspects, with the regular assimilation of the -r- to the previous consonant. In the perfective aspect, the suffix -rii replaces the aspect suffix -in, but in the habitual and the assertive future the negation modification suffix follows the aspect suffix. The negative forms of the different aspects would thus appear as follows in the verb ñam 'eat':

affirmative

negative

perfective	ñam-in 'have eaten'	ñam-bii (<ñam-rii) 'have not eaten'
assertive fut.	ñam-an 'shall eat'	ñam-an-dii (<ñam-an-rii) 'shall not eat'
habitual	ñam-i 'has the habit to eat'	ñam-i-rii 'has the habit not to eat'

The perfective negative verb form

Since the use of the perfective negative involves some complexities, depending on the verb type and time-reference, we will describe it separately. The other aspect negations (future and habitual) are more straightforward with a negation that corresponds more directly to the affirmative form.

The essence of the perfective is to express an action or a state that has an impact on the present situation. The fact of an action not having been done can naturally influence the present, and thus the action verbs in the negative perfective clearly function as the negative counterparts of the affirmative perfective. Its function is to point out an action in the recent past, this time as not being realised:

1. Fu wo'-in Peer-e? Ó'óo, mi hottiiri (<hot-rii-ri) wati.

you tell-PERF Pierre-PQ no I see-ASP.NEG-OBJ(3sg) today

'Did you tell Pierre? No, I haven't seen him today.'

But a state not being entered into cannot be seen as a present state. In order to understand the negation system, the following has to be considered: In describing the perfective, we said that the stative verbs could be interpreted as expressing an action of entering into a state which would then remain unchanged. The perfective of the stative verb would thus express the state as having been entered into and still not having ceased. It is this action of entering into the state that decides the negation of the stative verb. The stative verb may take either the present negation or the aspect negation modification:

- the use of the present negation on the stative verb implies that the state is not being entered into at the moment.
- the use of the perfective negative form, with the aspect suffix -rii replacing the perfective suffix, states that the state has not been entered into in the recent past

2. Kowu-kaa neeh-oo. 'The child is not asleep.'
 child-DEF sleep-PRES.NEG

3. Kowu-kaa neehhii (< neeh-rii). 'The child hasn't slept.'
 child-DEF sleep-ASP.NEG

A special case is constituted by the stative verbs that describe an inherent quality. Here, only the aspect negation is possible, since the entering or not entering into the state described is simultaneous with the entering into existence of the subject itself.

4. Waas-aa waa hoo'tii (< hood-rii). 'That road isn't long.'
 road-DEF DEM be.long-ASP.NEG

5. Paamboo (< paam-roo) yakkii (< yak-rii) lool. 'My father isn't very tall.'
 father-REL(1sg) be.tall-ASP.NEG very

As mentioned, the narrative, which is formed by the punctual aspect suffix -ra, does not have a negation modification. If a verb in the narrative is put in the negative, it is the perfective negative form that appears, since the verb is no longer punctual. The fact that it does not have a corresponding past tense negative, reinforces the interpretation of the narrative as part of the present tense/aspects.

6. Baay-faa ñamba (< ñam-ra). 'The dog ate.'

dog-DEF eat-NARR

7. Baayfaa ñambii (< ñam-rii). 'The dog didn't eat (hasn't eaten).'

dog-DEF eat-ASP.NEG

5.3.3.3. The past negative

The past negative is formed by the suffix -éeríi and it functions as the negation modification of the past tense only; the pluperfective aspect put in the negative will not remain in its punctual aspect, but take a more general time-reference. The suffix -éeríi could be analysed as the past tense -ee followed by a negation -ríi where the [+ATR] vowel affects the vowel of the previous syllable (1.3.7.). However, since a negation suffix -ríi is not attested elsewhere, we have chosen to treat the suffix as one morpheme which replaces the affirmative past tense suffix.

1. Ga kaan-suur-aa, mi neeh-éeríi dara. 'In hospital, I didn't sleep at all.'

at house-nun-DEF I sleep-PAST.NEG nothing

5.3.4. Imperative/optative

The imperative and the optative moods are semantically close and they basically form one single category with two moods in complementary distribution: the 2nd person singular and plural only occur in the imperative; the 1st and 3rd person singular and plural only occur in the optative. The distinctions between the two moods are:

- negation markers: kaa for imperative; hanat for optative
- the clause structure where the imperative/optative occur¹².

¹²This will be described further in 9.1.3.

- a semantic distinction, although in nuance only: Both these moods reflect the attitude of the speaker towards the addressee(s) in that s/he wishes to influence the action of the addressee(s), but the 2nd person imperative is more of an order, while the non-2nd person optative expresses more of a wish.

Because of these differences, we describe the two moods and the 2nd versus non-2nd persons separately, although they actually belong to the same category, and although there actually is some overlap between the two structures since the suffix -at operates in both moods (optative and 2pl imperative).

5.3.4.1. The imperative

The imperative is a command that only appears addressing the 2nd person, singular or plural. The structural features of the imperative are:

- there is no overt subject
- the number of addressees is coded by the choice of suffix on the verb stem
- negation is formed by the prohibitive particle kaa

The imperative suffixes occurring on the stem are:

- -aa when the addressee is 2nd person singular
- -at when the addressee is 2nd person plural

as in the examples:

1. Lom-aa jën kanak! 'Buy (sg) two fish!'

buy-IMP fish two

2. Yug-at ga basag-aa! 'Sit down (pl) on the mat!'

sit-IMP(pl) on mat-DEF

A note has to be made about the singular imperative suffix. When occurring in a prepausal position, the suffix -aa is shortened to -a. It is true that the prepausal position

is a place where a shortening of vowels could be expected, but where the phonemic long vowel would stay the same. In this case, however, the shortening must be interpreted as phonemic since it is followed by the non-phonemic glottal stop that follows prepausal short vowels (see 1.1.2.).

3. Yug-a! 'Sit down!'

sit-IMP

but

4. Yug-aa dii! 'Sit down here!'

sit-IMP here

An additional note concerns the verb hay 'come' which differs from other verbs in that this prepausal short suffix in singular imperative is lost. Instead it is the simple form that is used, hay.

The negation of the imperative: the prohibitive

In order to express the negative modification of the imperative, the prohibitive particle is used. The particle is kaa, and it occurs immediately before the verb. The prohibitive is only used corresponding to the imperative forms, i.e. it only addresses the 2nd persons, singular and plural and, as in the affirmative, no subject is allowed. When negated, the singular form loses its imperative suffix -aa and the verb appears in its stem, but the plural keeps its plural imperative suffix at.

5. Kaa wo' iña-a-ma! 'Don't (sg) say that.'

PROH say P.I-REF

6. Kaa wo'-at na buw-aa baa! 'Don't (pl) speak to those people!'

PROH say-IMP(pl) with people-DEF DEM

5.3.4.2. The optative

As mentioned, the optative expresses a wish, not a command. Still, the optative is in complementary distribution with the imperative in that it only occurs with the 1st and 3rd persons, singular and plural, as subjects. It may be the speaker's wish or that of somebody else that is expressed concerning the action of the subject (see also 9.1.3.2.). For example, the speaker's wish is expressed concerning the 1st person subjects in an exhortative, as in example 2 below. The structure of the optative verb is as follows:

- the subject is overtly stated (in the clause)
- the optative suffix -at occurs on the verb stem
- the negation modification is formed by the auxiliary hanat

The auxiliary hanat inherently carries the optative suffix -at, but it is a fixed form, since the auxiliary does not occur without it, or in any other function than as the negative modifier of the optative. However, like for other auxiliaries, all possible objects are suffixed to hanat and it is followed by the infinitive form of the main verb:

1. Mi pokatti (< pok-at-ri) ga bos-aa kedik-kaa-n-e?

I tie-OPT-OBJ(3sg) at trunk-DEF tree-DEF-N-PQ

'Do you want me to tie it to the trunk of the tree?'

2. Du ñam-at!

'Let us eat!'

we.INCL eat-OPT

3. Ya apattaa (< ap-at-raa)!

'May s/he kill you!'

s/he kill-OPT-OBJ(2sg)

4. Ya wo''a (<wo'-ra) an mi hanattaa (<hanat-raa) ga¹³ kinori' (<ki-nod-id).

s/he say-NARR COMPL I OPT.NEG-OBJ(2sg) PART INF-serve-BEN

'S/he said that I shouldn't serve you of it (the food).'

5. Wati, ken hanat ki-wo' an noh-ii tam-in! 'Today, may nobody say that the sun is hot!'

today nobody OPT.NEG INF-say COMPL sun-DEF be.hot-PERF

5.4. Object pronoun suffixes

The last suffixes that may be added to the verb are the animate object pronouns. As seen in the description on pronouns (2.4.3.), the animate object pronouns are bound and only occur as suffixes, with a verb or with a preposition. The suffixes are¹⁴:

	sg	pl	
1	-roo	-rii	(EXCL)
		-ruu	(INCL)
2	-raa	-ríu	
3	-ri	-ḃa	

Suffixed to a verb, the object suffix normally occurs with the finite verb of the predicate which may be:

- an auxiliary
- a transitive verb
- a stative verb, normally in the perfective aspect, to express the person on whom the state has an impact (ex. 3).

¹³The partitive refers back to 'food' in a previous sentence.

¹⁴For the consonant assimilation of -r see 1.3.2.4.

1. Mi hayyaa (<hay-raa) ki-wo'. 'I will tell you.'

I will(AUX)-OBJ(2sg) INF-tell

2. Kodu lómí'tiiri (<lom-íð-rii-ri) dara. 'Kodu hasn't bought her anything.'

Kodu buy-TRANS-ASP.NEG-OBJ(3sg) nothing

3. Ñamah-ii wii newindow (neɓ-in-roo) lool. 'This food is really tasty to me.'

food-DEF DEM be.tasty-PERF-OBJ(1sg) very

In Noon, if there are two objects (pronouns or NPs), the indirect object always precedes the direct, which is also reflected by the fact that the animate object pronouns (that are the only ones that can occur as indirect object) are suffixed to the verb, while the inanimate object pronouns follow the verb. The same order applies if there are two animate objects pronouns, and here both appear as suffixes, as in example 4:

4. Teew-aa-ríi-ri! 'Show him/her to us!'

show-IMP-I.OBJ(1pl.EXCL)-D.OBJ(3sg)

In some cases, the object suffix can be attached to a verb in the infinitive, rather than to the finite verb. This is generally produced by the fact that there are several auxiliaries and only the first is in the finite form. Here, the object is attached to the last of the auxiliaries since it would be semantically too far from the main verb of the predicate if it were attached to the first, finite auxiliary.

5. Mi sanj kijéembi (<ki-jéem-ri) ki-'ap. 'I refuse to try to kill it.'

I refuse(AUX) INF-try(AUX)-OBJ(3sg) INF-kill

6. Yëri laak ki-mín-ḡa ki-yërēm.

'It is he who has the ability to pity them.'

P.EMPH have INF-can(AUX)-OBJ(3pl) INF-pity

5.5. Auxiliaries

There is a group of verbs that function as auxiliaries¹⁵. According to the way they operate, they could be labelled aspectual verbs, since their function is to assign the head verb its aspect, as a complement to the aspect suffixes. One part of these verbs only occur as auxiliaries, while the majority can function either as head verbs or as auxiliaries.

Examples of verbs functioning only as auxiliaries:

bañ	'will not, refuse to'
caaki	'be in the habit of'
daan	"
hanat	'should not, ought not'
haan	'have just'
jek	'should'
jom	"
mos	'have already'
sam	'be a little'
wëñ	'be more'

Examples of verbs functioning either as auxiliaries or as head verbs. Here, the meaning of the verb may differ slightly according to its function as auxiliary or head verb:

¹⁵ The definition of an auxiliary is given in 6.3., but this whole section on auxiliaries needs some reworking.

	as auxiliary:	as head verb:
dal	'start'	'start'
gaaw	'be fast at'	'hurry'
hay	'will'	'come'
y'ah	'will, will go'	'go'
mín	'be able to'	'do well'
sag	'refuse'	'hate'
íis	'leave (alone)'	'leave alone'
teel	'do something early'	'be early'
waad	'want'	'love, like'
yewin	'do something a lot'	'be abundant'
yéeh	'be slow to'	'be slow'

There is no need to define the auxiliaries as a separate group morphologically, since they fit well into the groups already described, as stative or action verbs. However, there are a few notes that need to be made on account of the morphology of some of these verbs, on the matters of transitivity, tense/aspect and negation:

5.5.1. Transitivity

Naturally, intransitive verbs, as head verbs, do not take an object, neither a suffix object nor a separate NP object. However, when a verb functions as an auxiliary, the distinction of transitivity is not appropriate. It is the degree of transitivity of the head verb that decides if the auxiliary will take an object suffix or not. Thus, a verb that is intransitive when functioning as a head verb, may take an object pronoun suffix (or two) when functioning as an auxiliary, if the head verb is transitive. An example is the verb hay 'come', as auxiliary 'will'. As a head verb, it is transitive and may take a locative object,

or occur with the locative object implied. As an auxiliary, it can be suffixed by the patient object suffix of the head verb:

As head verb:

1. Mi waa' ki-hay (kaan-fu). 'I want to come (to your house).'

I want(AUX) INF-come (house-REL(2sg))

As auxiliary:

2. Mi hayyaa (<hay-raa) ki-feek. 'I will spank you.'

I will(AUX)-OBJ(2sg) INF-spank

5.5.2. Tense/aspect:

A few of the auxiliaries only appear in a restricted number of tenses and aspects. These are all verbs that only function as auxiliaries, never as head verbs. Examples of restricted auxiliaries are:

caaki 'be in the habit of'

daan 'used to'

Caaki only occurs in the present tense, with or without the perfective aspect. Daan, on the other hand, occurs in the perfective aspect and in the past tense. Thus, the two auxiliaries complement each other, except in the perfective where they overlap.

Another example, mentioned above, is the auxiliary hanat, which only occurs in the optative form, as the negation of that mood (5.3.4.2.).

5.5.3. Negation

Negation of the auxiliaries is not totally straightforward. As a general rule it can be said that auxiliaries take the aspect negation, -rii, (labelled 'ASP.NEG'), which could be explained by the fact that the rôle of the auxiliary is precisely that, to add an aspect to the verb.

1. Ya waa'-tii ki-lëgëy yoon-aa. 'S/he doesn't want to work the field.'
s/he want(AUX)-ASP.NEG INF-work field-DEF

However, this negation is also used in more temporal auxiliaries such as hay 'will' and yah 'will' in the future tense:

2. Mi hay-yii ki-oo' wati. 'I won't fast today.'
I will(AUX)-ASP.NEG INF-fast today

3. Ba yah-hii ki-maasoh ga cipañ-caa. 'They won't participate at the wedding.'
they will(AUX)-ASP.NEG INF-participate at wedding-DEF

Finally , some auxiliary verbs, although they attribute an aspect to the verb, may take either the aspect negative or the present negative suffix -oo, with a difference in the nuance of the aspect conveyed. The present negative is used when the verb expresses a more general inability to do something, while the aspect negative concerns the inability for the present situation. Such verbs are for example: mín 'can', jom 'should', cal 'be worth'.

4. Mi mín-oo ki-tík maalu. 'I cannot cook rice (=I don't know how to).'
- I can(AUX)-PRES.NEG INF-cook rice

5. Ya mín-dii ki-tík maalu wati. 'She cannot cook rice today (- there is no rice left)'

s/he can(AUX)-ASP.NEG INF-cook rice today

6. THE VERB PHRASE

6.1. The non-verbal VP

6.2. The simple VP

6.2.1. Intransitive VP

6.2.2. Transitive VP

6.2.2.1. The NP complement as patient object

6.2.2.2. The NP complement as locative object

6.2.2.3. The PP complement

6.2.2.3.1. The PP complement following a partitive verb

6.2.2.3.2. The PP complement following a phrasal verb

6.2.2.4. The clause complement

6.2.3. Ditransitive VP

6.2.3.1. Patient/dative objects

6.2.3.2. Patient/locative objects

6.3. VP with an auxiliary expansion

6.3.1. The structure of the VP with an auxiliary expansion

6.3.2. The function of the auxiliary expansion

6.3.2.1. Temporal auxiliaries

6.3.2.2. Volitional auxiliaries

6.3.2.3. Modal auxiliaries

6.3.3. Two phrasal auxiliaries

6.4. The comparative VP

6.5. VP with reduplication

Traditionally, the term "verb phrase" has referred to a head verb, either finite as the sole constituent of the phrase, or non-finite with auxiliary verb(s). A verb phrase would then always correspond to the same syntactic function as a single, finite verb. However, in generative grammar, the term has come to be used for the whole predicate of the clause, which could be said to reflect a different level in syntax than what is normally assigned by the term "phrase". Traditionally, the phrase could always be represented by a single head word (noun in the NP, verb in the VP), but when referring to the predicate, the VP cannot be represented by a single verb unless the head verb is intransitive: With transitive verbs, the VP must contain object NP(s) as obligatory element(s). In our analysis, we have chosen to use the term VP for the whole predicate, the obligatory part of the clause, its constituents being the verb and the complement when this is required. Therefore, NPs and PPs may be part of the VP, when they function as complements, and they can thus be said to function on a lower level than the VP. The reason for this

analysis to treat the complement as part of the VP is found in the way the complement operates in the clause. There are two factors that lead us to link the complement to the VP itself, rather than treating it as a separate clause constituent:

a) When the object complement is an animate pronoun, it is realised as an enclitic verbal suffix which undergoes morphophonological changes that links it closely to the verb:

1. Mi feek-kaa (<feek-raa). 'I hit you.'

I hit-OBJ(2sg)

b) The NP complement has a mobile position in the clause, depending on the type of nominal head (noun/pronoun), but also on the length of the noun. When an auxiliary is present, the complement may occur before or after the head verb. This makes it difficult to separate the complement from the VP.

2. Mi hay-yaa ki-wo'. 'I will tell you.'

I will(AUX)-OBJ(2sg) INF-tell

3. Mi hay ki-wo' beti-caa. 'I will tell the women.'

I will(AUX) INF-tell women-DEF

For these reasons, we have decided to define the function of the VP in the group of words or units that obligatorily surround the verb. There is no practical point in separating the verb itself from its complement in this language, and therefore, we choose to treat these as part of the VP.

The verb phrase functions in the clause as the predicate. The core of the VP always consists of a head verb, with one exception: the non-verbal VP. The head verb decides

the structure of the VP, both in simple and expanded VPs. The simple VP contains one single verb which may occur alone or with a complement. The expanded VP consists of the head verb with an expansion of one or several other verbs. These are the different types of VP:

1. the non-verbal VP
2. the simple VP
3. VP with an auxiliary expansion
4. the comparative VP
5. VP with a reduplicative expansion

6.1. The non-verbal VP

The non-verbal VP is distinguished by the simple fact that it lacks an explicit verb. The head element of this VP is a particle:

- the presentative particle Cee (7.2.2.);
- the progressive particle Cii/Cum/Caa (7.2.1.) which is a conjugational particle, otherwise occurring as part of the progressive 1 aspect (see 5.3.3.2.2.);
- the negative existential particle gaa, which occurs only to negate a progressive particle in a non-verbal existential clause (7.2.3.).

The progressive particle could be interpreted as representing a trace of the verb en 'be' in the predicate: the verb itself is absent, but the conjugation remains. The non-verbal VP occurs in three functions:

- with the presentative particle in a presentative clause (see 8.1.4.)
- with the progressive particle in an equative clause, following an indefinite or allocutive pronoun, with a NP complement that introduces a person or an object (see 8.1.3.1.)

- with the progressive or the negative existential particle in an existential clause, with a locative PP complement, to present the location (or absence) of the subject (see 8.1.2.1.)

The presentative particle can be replaced by a verbal predicate with en 'be', followed by the locative dii 'here', as seen in example 1 below. Similarly, where the progressive particle occurs, the non-verbal VP can be replaced by a verbal predicate with the verb en 'be' in a progressive aspect (progressive particle + the verb en) as in example 7 below, conveying largely the same message. The interpretation of the use of the progressive particle in a non-verbal VP as having an implicit en 'be' as its head verb, is further supported by the fact that if transferred into any other tense/aspect than the present, the progressive particle has to be replaced by the verb en (examples 8 and 9). This coincides with its complementary use in verbal VPs in the progressive aspect, where it only occurs in the present tense.

1. Kaan-fii-goo fee. 'Here is my house.'
house-DEF-POSS(1sg) PRES

= Kaan-fii-goo en dii. 'My house is here.'
house-DEF-POSS(1sg) be here

2. Bii yii Kodu. 'This is Kodu.'
P.I.A PROG Kodu

3. Iñaá yaa kaan Kodu. 'That is Kodu's house.'
P.I.A PROG house Kodu

4. Kúum-kaa kaa ga dúuy' kedik-kaa. 'The honey is inside the tree.'
honey-DEF PROG in inside tree-DEF

5. 'Beti-caa gaa ga kaan. 'The women aren't at home.'

women-DEF NEG.EXIST at house

6. Pe'-caa gaa ga¹. 'The goats aren't there.'

goats-DEF NEG.EXIST at

7. Mi yii dii (=Mi yii en dii). 'I am here.'

I PROG here (I PROG be here)

Example 7 would appear in the past or future tenses as follows:

8. Mi en-ee dii. 'I was here.'

I be-PAST here

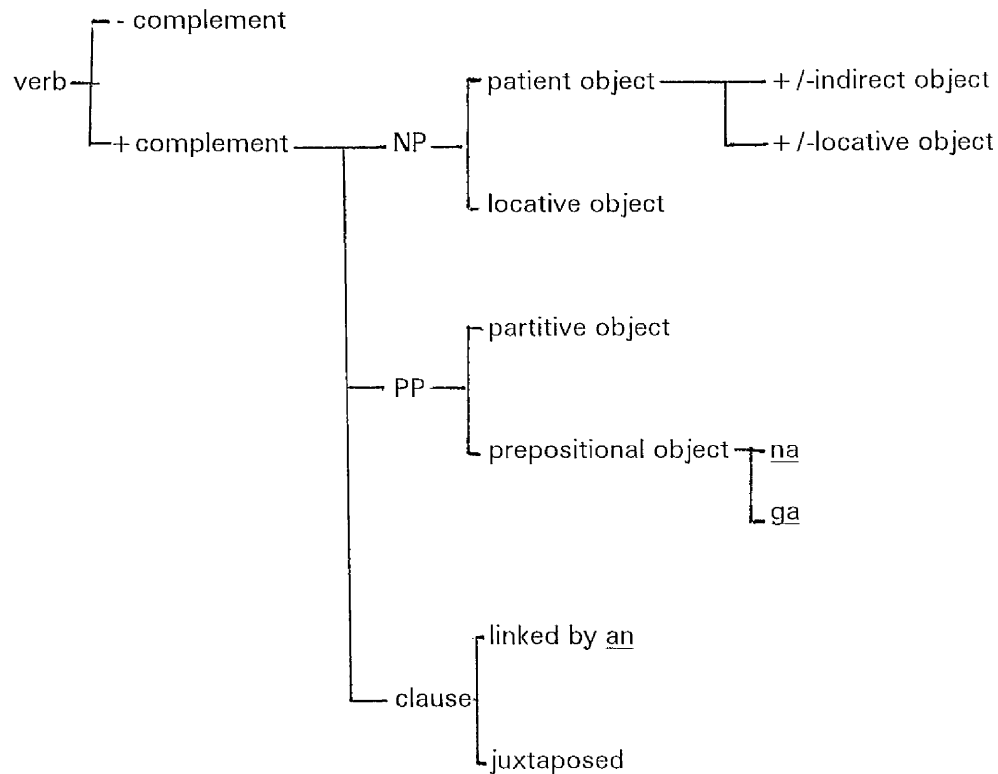
9. Mi hay dii ki-'en. / Mi en-an dii. 'I will be here.'

I will(AUX) here INF-be / I be-FUT here

6.2. The simple VP

As mentioned, the simple VP consists of a single verb, which may occur alone or with a complement. Its structure depends of the transitivity and semantic function of the verb, and the following choices are possible:

¹The ga in this example is a simple PPloc where the head noun is implied and the preposition alone represents the implied location (see 4.1.5.).



We will describe the simple VP according to the valency of the verb, which gives us the following types:

- intransitive
- transitive
- ditransitive

In addition there is the comparative VP which is transitive, but since it differs in many respects from the other transitive simple VPs, it is treated separately in section 6.4.

In the simple VP, the verb itself occurs in one of the finite forms described above (5.3.)².

The complement is the obligatory part of the predicate, and, as we see, it may contain a

²Note that in two cases - the progressive 1 and the prohibitive - the inflection involves the presence of a separate particle: the progressive particles Cii/Cum/Caa, and the prohibitive particle kaa. These particles are part of the finite verb itself and they may occur with the finite verb in any of the types of VP described.

NP, a PP or a clause. These obligatory elements must thus be distinguished from those that function as adjuncts, i.e. optional elements of the clause.³

6.2.1. Intransitive VP

The intransitive verbs obligatorily occur without a complement:

1. Fu hay ki-son. 'You will be tired.'

you(sg) will(AUX) INF-be.tired

2. Oomaa-caa neeh-uunun. 'The children are asleep.'

children-DEF sleep-PERF(pl)

3. Yug-aa ga duuy' túuy-aa! 'Sit in the hut!'

sit-IMP in inside hut-DEF

Verbs that function as intransitive are primarily stative verbs, which all occur without complement, with a specific exception⁴, but also some action verbs where the object of the action is the subject, or the action itself, such as:

4. keen 'fall'

5. boof 'crouch'

Certain derivational suffixes reduce the valency of the verb, for example the reflexive -uk, and in some cases the reciprocal or durative -oh. By these verbal extensions, transitive verbs may appear as intransitive:

³The only type of NP that may function as an adjunct is that which consists of a locative pronoun, with the agreement marker d-.

⁴We said earlier that an object animate pronoun suffix may replace a PP following certain stative verbs, to denote the person to whom the attitude or feeling is attributed, as in newin-doo 'it is nice for me', which is synonymous with newin garoo. (see also 8.1.1.2.)

transitive		intransitive	
6. book	'wash'	book-uk	'wash oneself'
7. hot	'see'	hot-oh	'see one another, meet'

6.2.2. Transitive VP

The transitive VP consists of a verb and a complement, although in some verbs, the complement may be omitted and implied in the context. As we saw in the scheme above, the complement may be either a NP, a PP or a clause. The NP may have the function of a patient object or of a locative object. The patient object is the prototypical direct object, which Givón calls "the patient-of-change object". He elaborates on this label and states that "the prototype of a transitive verb in this group thus involves a *physical, discernible* change in the state of its patient object" (Givón 1984:96). But why then do we treat locative NPs as objects? Givón explains this phenomenon as a "metaphoric extension" which operates as follows: "When a less-prototypical verb is coded syntactically as a member of the class of the transitive prototype, in some sense the user of the language *construes* its properties as being *similar, analogical, reminiscent* of the prototype" (p. 98). The less prototypical transitive verbs in Noon are a group of locative verbs where the goal of the motion is expressed by a locative noun in a NP. It is only with these verbs that locative nouns occur in a complement NP; wherever occurring in a PP, with the preposition *ga*, the locative nouns are optional in the clause. This parallel with the NP patient object leads us to treat these verbs as transitive. The similarity in structure between the following clauses is obvious:

1. Mi tawah kaan-fu. 'I build your house.'

I build house-REL(2sg)

2. Mi yah kaan-fu. 'I go to your house.'

I go house-REL(2sg)

But following a non-locative verb, the locative noun occurs in a PP functioning as an adjunct:

3. Mi lëgëy ga kaan-fu. 'I work in your house.'

I work in house-REL(2sg)

In analogy with the prototypical transitive verbs, most of these locative verbs may appear without a complement, with the focus on the action itself. This type of verbal focus requires an aspect marker on the verb (see 10.4.2.4.), in this case the progressive aspect marked by the progressive particle:

4. Mi yii tawah. 'I am building.'

I PROG build

5. Mi yii y'ah. 'I am going.'

I PROG go

Based on the analogies with the prototypical direct objects presented above, we treat the NP following the locative verb not as a patient object, but as a goal object which is the object of the motion, and obligatory as such.

It is only under the following circumstances that a PP may function as an object: if the verb is partitive and followed by the partitive ga, or if the verb is a phrasal verb requiring the preposition ga or na to precede the object (the different functions of these prepositions are described in 4.1.1.).

The cases where the clause may occur as complement is where the head verb is a volition, cognition or utterance verb.

6.2.2.1. The NP complement as patient object:

The NP functioning as an object complement may be any type of NP. When an animate object is replaced by a pronoun, this is suffixed to the verb (ex 4), while an inanimate pronoun follows the verb as a separate word (ex 3).

1. Fu hot-in baay-e? 'Have you seen a dog?'
you(sg) see-PERF dog-PQ

2. Ba laak-in towu ti-yewin. 'They have many children.'
they have-PERF children ATTR-abundant

3. Ya toon-ee-ra wa. 'S/he sold it.'
s/he sell-PAST-PUNCT OBJ(C1sg)

4. Mi amdoh-haa. 'I help you.'
I help-OBJ(2sg)

The verb of the transitive VP containing an object is a transitive verb root, or a verb stem with a transitivising derivational suffix.

6.2.2.2. The NP complement as locative object

As we have stated above, there is a certain set of verbs that may be called locative verbs, which all function to denote a motion or, in one case, a state related to a location.

The complement of these verbs will express either the goal of the motion (go, arrive, enter etc.), or its source (leave, come from, pass by etc.), or the location to which the state must be linked (live). These very frequent verbs differ from other transitive verbs in that:

- they only take NPs with locative nouns as complements
- when the complement is replaced by a pronoun, it is always a locative pronoun
- the locative objects of these verbs cannot function as a subjects in a passive construction

These locative verbs are for example:

aas	'enter'	kúlkoh	'come from'
boyuk	'return'	mey	'go out'
dëk	'live'	soof	'go home'
kaɗ	'leave for'	yàh	'go'
kood	'pass by'	hay	'come'
le'	'arrive' ⁵		

The locative nouns acting as complements of these verbs may be a name of a place or a common noun indicating a place, for example:

Dakaa'	'Dakar'	kaan	'home'
Caañaak	'Thiès'	marsi	'market'
Tugaal	'France'	ëgíraa	'the desert, the wilderness'

Pronouns replacing these locative nouns always carry the agreement marker d-:

da	'there'
dii	'here'
daa	'(over) there'
diliis	'somewhere else'

With a few of these locative verbs, the locative complement is obligatory:

dëk	'live'
-----	--------

⁵This verb has the primary meaning 'touch', which is also transitive, but with a prototypical patient object.

1. 'Ba dëk Caali. 'They live in Thialy (quarter in Thiès).'

they live Thialy

kúlkoh 'come from'

2. 'Beti-roo kúlkoh Lam-Lam. 'My wife comes from Lam-Lam.'

wife-REL(1sg) come.from Lam-Lam

kood 'pass by'

3. Mi hay ki-koo' kaan-fu. 'I will pass by your house.'

I will(AUX) INF-pass.by house-REL(2sg)

However, all other locative verbs may function either with an explicit or implicit locative complement. The difference lies in the focus: where the complement is implied, the focus is on the action itself; when the goal or the source of the motion is to be primarily communicated, the locative complement is obligatory. In the following examples, the motion verbs appear either without a complement, with the focus on the verb, or with an explicit locative complement:

4. 'Du bii yah. We're going.'

we.INCL PROG go

or

5. 'Du yah-at daa-ma. 'Let us go there.'

we.INCL go-OPT there-REF

6. Paapu (<paam-fu) kar-in. 'Your father has left.'

father-REL(2sg) leave.for-PERF

or

7. Paapu (<paam-fu) kar-in Dakaa'. 'Your father has left for Dakar.'

father-REL(2sg) leave.for-PERF Dakar

8. Diima-diima, mi hay ki-soof (kaan). 'In a moment, I will go home (to my house).'

now-now I will INF-go.home (house)

The distinction is clear between verbs where a locative adjunct serves to determine the motion to a certain place (ex. 9), and locative verbs where the locative complement is part of the motion itself in denoting its goal or source (ex. 10):

9. Mi lëgëy ga kaan. 'I work in the house/at home.'

I work at house

10. Mi yii aas kaan. 'I am entering the house.'

I PROG enter house

6.2.2.3. The PP complement

As we said, when the complement consists of a PP, it is the complement of either a partitive verb or a phrasal verb. Both partitive and phrasal verbs are necessarily followed by a preposition (ga 'at, on, for' or na 'with') which are clitics, dependent on the verb. Thus, all PP complements are obligatory; if the PP is headed by the preposition na 'with', nothing of the PP can be omitted; if the preposition of the PP is ga 'in, at, on', the noun of the PP can be implicit in the context, and ga alone represents the complement. Furthermore, the preposition ga is never followed by an inanimate pronoun. If an inanimate noun in a PP with ga is replaced by a pronoun, this is omitted and implied or, in some cases, personified and replaced by an animate pronoun suffix (see also 4.1.5.2.).

6.2.2.3.1. The PP complement following a partitive verb

Many of the transitive verbs may also appear as partitive, in that only part of the complement is involved in the action. This is marked by the presence of the preposition ga. If the complement is implied, the preposition ga remains explicit and an enclitic part of the partitive verb which thus retains the partitive notion of the predicate. The difference between the partitive and the phrasal verbs is that all partitive verbs may also occur as non-partitive, with a NP object. The presence of the PP only gives a modification of the complement, but the meaning of the verb remains the same.

1. Mi ñam-in maal-ii. 'I have eaten the rice.'

I eat-PERF rice-DEF

2. Mi ñam-in ga maal-ii 'I have eaten some of the rice.'

I eat-PERF PART rice-DEF

3. Mi ñam-in ga. 'I have eaten some of it.'

I eat-PERF PART

4. Ya toon jën. 'S/he sells fish.'

s/he sell fish

5. Ya toon-in ga jën-aa. 'S/he has sold some of the fish.'

s/he sell-PERF PART fish-DEF

6. Ya toon-in ga. 'S/he has sold some of it.'

s/he sell-PERF PART

6.2.2.3.2. The PP complement following a phrasal verb

As well as determining a set of locative verbs, we can also distinguish a group of phrasal verbs where the verb is obligatorily followed by a PP introduced by either the preposition na or ga. We could describe the phrasal verbs as fixed expressions where the meanings of the preposition is not always clearly distinguishable.

Phrasal verbs with na

Phrasal verbs followed by the preposition na in a complement PP are not numerous. The following verbs, only, fall into this category:

- verbs with the instrumental suffix -oh
- reciprocal verbs, with or without the reciprocal suffix -oh, when the subject is in the singular

Na only occurs in a complex PP, i.e. it is always followed by a NP or a suffixed pronoun, including when it functions in a complement PP. Consequently, these verbs are obligatorily followed by a complex PP introduced by na, as in the examples:

1. Ya ñam-oh na kudu. 'S/he eats with a spoon.'

s/he eat-INSTR with spoon

2. Mi híd-oh-ha na Samba. 'I met Samba.'

I meet-REC-NARR with Samba

Reciprocal verbs without the suffix -oh are verbs that intrinsically must include two or more arguments. Just as when the suffix -oh is present, these verbs are intransitive when the subject is in the plural (i.e. both/all participants involved are included in the subject), but if the subject is in the singular, the PP with na is obligatory:

mad 'resemble (appearance)'

3. Fu man na ee-fu 'You(sg) look like your mother.'

you(sg) resemble with mother-REL(2sg)

4. Dú berí man. 'You(pl) look alike.'

you(pl) P.EMPH resemble

híd 'resemble (size: mental or physical)'

5. Decu hín na yaak-ci. 'Decu resembles his older sibling (= is as tall, as clever etc.)'

Decu resemble with older.sibling-REL(3sg)

taab 'follow, resemble (behaviour)'

6. Kowu taam (< taab) na paam-ci. 'A child follows his/her father.'

child follow with father-REL(3sg)

Phrasal verbs with ga

Phrasal verbs followed by the preposition ga are more numerous than those with na. As mentioned in describing this preposition (see 4.1.1.2.), many of the phrasal verbs may occur without ga as a transitive verb with an object, but it will then be a different verb with a different meaning. The PP with ga is not just a partitive modification of the normal use of the verb. Examples are:

malak 'look'

malak ga 'watch over'

wo' 'say'

wo' ga 'reproach'

The function of the preposition ga with these verbs may be hard to discern; in some cases it seems to operate in its dative function, in others in the partitive (see below). When it has a partitive function, this is intrinsic in the verb, and the verb cannot occur without it (as in the partitive verbs described above in 6.2.2.3.1.). As with the partitive verbs, the preposition ga alone may represent the whole complement if its NP is implicit (as in examples 8 and 10). In the following phrasal verbs, ga can be said to operate in its partitive function:

bok ga 'share'

7. Du bok ga lëgëy-aa. 'We share the work.'

we.INCL share PART work-DEF

tík ga 'be next, follow (among several elements)'

8. Mati, yërí tík ga. 'It is Mati who follows (is next).'

Mati P.EMPH follow PART

while in the following phrasal verbs it has more of a dative sense:

yaakaad ga 'believe in'

9. 'Bo' súusúus yaakaa' ga Kooh. 'Every man believes in God.'

person black believe in God

ëewruk ga 'concentrate on'

10. Ëewruk-aa ga! 'Concentrate!'

concentrate-IMP on

6.2.2.4. The clause complement

The complement of certain verbs may consist of a whole clause. These verbs are those that express volition, cognition or utterance, such as:

waad	'want'
halaat	'think'
wo'	'say, tell'

The volition verbs take a clause complement when the wish involves a different person than the subject of the wish. If the subjects of the higher and lower clauses are co-referential, a VP with an auxiliary expansion is used (ex. 1), but if the subjects are different, the wish is presented in a clause which is juxtaposed to the matrix volition verb (ex. 2):

- [illegible]

The cognition verbs express mental attitudes such as knowledge, belief or hope. They occur followed by indirect questions, or by direct or indirect quotations as their complement. In indirect questions, the complement clause is introduced by the conjunction *ati* 'if' (see 7.1.2.) as in example 3:

3. Mi ínoh-oo ati fu hay kuwis-oo paaf-kuwis.
I know-PRES.NEG if you come tomorrow-or past-tomorrow
'I don't know if you'll come tomorrow or the day after tomorrow.'

When the complement is a direct or indirect quotation, the cognition and utterance verbs function in the same way. The complement clause is linked to the verb by the complementiser an (see 7.1.2.). If the utterance verb has an indirect object (ex. 5), the complementiser and the complement clause follow it:

4. Dí halaat an dú teel-in ki-soof lool. 'We think that you go home too early.'
 we.EXCL think COMPL you(pl) be.early(AUX)-PERF INF-go.home very

5. Mi wo'-ee-ri an: "Kaa yuŋ ga kakay!" 'I told him/her: "Don't sit on the ground!"'
 I tell-PAST-OBJ(3sg) COMPL PROH sit on ground

6. Ya fiip-pa an ya waa'-tii ki-ka' ekool.
 s/he cry-NARR COMPL s/he want(AUX)-ASP.NEG INF-go school
 'S/he cried that she didn't want to go to school.'

Unlike the volition verbs, the cognition-utterance verbs may not occur as auxiliary expansions, even if the subject of an utterance verb and the subject of the utterance itself are co-referential; the subject of the complement clause must be explicit.

Verbs that take a clause as a complement may all also occur with a NP object:

7. Ya waa' p̄is-ii wii. 'S/he wants this cloth.'
 s/he want cloth-DEF DEM

8. Ba halaat iña-ma. 'They think this. / This is what they think.'
 they think P.I-REF

9. Mi wo'-'aa kayoh kaahay. 'I tell you three truths.'

I say-OBJ(2sg) truths three

6.2.3. Ditransitive VP

6.2.3.1. Patient/dative objects

The patient/dative ditransitive VP contains two objects: direct and indirect. The verb may be a ditransitive root, such as:

on 'give'

teeḅ 'show, present'

or a transitive verb stem followed by a transitivising derivational suffix, for example:

tooní' (<toon-id) 'sell on somebody's behalf'

sell-BEN

ñēmí' (<ñam-íd) 'feed somebody'

eat-TRANS

The two objects always occur in a fixed position: the direct object following the indirect one. The objects consist of NPs (which are suffixed to the verb if the NP consists of an animate pronoun). The direct object (i.e. the last) may be implicit, but the indirect object can never be omitted. The indirect object denotes the dative 'to' or benefactive 'for, on behalf of' object, while the direct object is the patient object.

1. Mi on Ndew ndímu. 'I give a skirtcloth to Ndew.'

I give Ndew(I.OBJ) pagne(D.OBJ)

2. Mi on-di wa. 'I give it to her.'

I give-I.OBJ(3sg) D.OBJ(C1sg)

3. Mi on-in-di. 'I have given her (the pagne).'

I give-PERF-I.OBJ(3sg)

If both objects are animate and expressed by a pronoun, they are both suffixed to the verb:

4. Mi teeḅ-pi-raa. 'I present you to her.'

I present-I.OBJ(3sg)-D.OBJ(2sg)

There is one restriction on the occurrence of the indirect object in the ditransitive VP: If the indirect object is a noun, it can only be followed by another noun(ex. 6) or an inanimate pronoun functioning as a direct object (ex. 5), but not by an animate pronoun suffix. Thus the following utterances are possible:

5. Mi teeḅ Ndew wa. 'I show it to Ndew.'

I show Ndew(I.OBJ) D.OBJ(C1sg)

6. Mi teeḅ Ndew paa-pu. 'I present your father to Ndew.'

I present Ndew(I.OBJ) father-REL(2sg)(D.OBJ)

However, if the animate object in example 6 is to be represented by a pronoun, the ditransitive construction cannot be used following a noun functioning as an indirect object, since the object suffix pronoun cannot be linked directly to a noun:

7. *Mi teeḅ Ndew -ri. 'I present him/her to Ndew.'

I present Ndew(I.OBJ)-D.OBJ(3sg)

In order to express this, the language uses the following device: The verb is detransitivised, either by the loss of the transitivity derivational suffix -íḁ, or by the addition of a detransitivising suffix, such as the durative -oh, whereby only one object,

the direct object, has to be present in the predicate. The indirect object is then presented in an adjunct PP with the dative preposition ga:

8. Mi teew-oh-hi ga Ndew. 'I present him to Ndew.'

I present-DUR-OBJ(3sg) to Ndew

6.2.3.2. Patient/locative objects

Among the transitive verbs, as we saw above (6.2.2.2.), there are some locative verbs that express motion, that have a locative complement denoting the source or goal of the motion. The complement of these verbs are locative NPs. Similarly, with the ditransitive verbs, there are a few locative verbs that express motion which also affect a patient object. With these verbs, as well as with some of the transitive locative verbs, the source or goal of the motion is an obligatory complement that has to be stated, and consequently, these verbs are subcategorised for a direct object and a locative object, in that order. Examples of these verbs are:

faan 'lay, put in'

tík 'put on, place on'

naas 'remove'

A striking difference between the transitive and ditransitive locative verbs is that the locative object with the ditransitive verbs occurs in a PP with the preposition ga, and not in a NP. This difference could be accounted for by the presence of a second object in the predicate. If the locative object is implied, it can be represented by the preposition ga alone (ex 3). Thus, the two objects will appear as follows:

1. Faan-aa oomaa-n-ii ga túuy-aa. 'Put the child in the hut.'

put-IMP child-N-DEF(OBJ) in hut-DEF(LOC.OBJ)

2. Tík-aa wa ga taabul-aa.

'Put it (the pot) on the table.'

put-IMP it(OBJ) on table-DEF(LOC.OBJ)

3. Ba naas-sa ní'-aa ga (kot-aa pënís-faa).

they remove-NARR rope-DEF(OBJ) on/from (leg-DEF horse-DEF)(LOC.OBJ)

'They removed the rope from (the horse's leg).'

There is the possibility for these verbs to take yet another object, if the beneficiary derivational suffix *-id* is added to the verb. The new object is then an indirect object, functioning as the beneficiary of the action. This means that the predicate contains three objects: an indirect, a direct and a locative object:

4. Tík-d-aa-roo kēwdíir-aa ga taabul-aa!

'Put the pot on the table for me!'

put-BEN-IMP-I.OBJ(1sg) pot-DEF(D.OBJ) on table-DEF(LOC.OBJ)

When Hopper and Thompson (1980) discuss the ranking of clauses according to their degree of transitivity, they state that the component of individuation is a strong component in this ranking, and that the affected noun being animate causes its clause to be higher in transitivity. This ranking of complements as higher or lower in transitivity is a factor in designating what we called the "prototypical object", and this is also reflected in the order of the different objects and their positions in relation to the verb: The object closest to the verb is the indirect object which is always animate, and which is unomissible with the verbs where it occurs. This is followed by the direct object which may be either animate or inanimate, but the locative object, which occurs last of the objects, is always inanimate.

6.3. VP with an auxiliary expansion

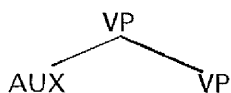
In order for a verb to be interpreted as an auxiliary, Hopkins (1995) suggests that the following criteria have to be filled:

- the subject of the auxiliary and the head verb must be co-referential
- nothing must be inserted between the auxiliary and the head verb to indicate a subordinate or co-ordinate relation⁶

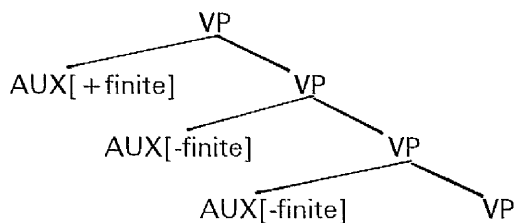
In describing the VP with an auxiliary expansion, first the structure of such a VP will be described, secondly we will look at the different functions of the auxiliary. Finally, there are two specific cases of phrasal auxiliaries, aay ga 'be skilful at' and en na 'be in the process of', that require some additional description.

6.3.1. The structure of the VP with an auxiliary expansion

The auxiliary expansion functions as a modification of the head verb, as in the following pattern:



The pattern of the auxiliary expansion may be recursive, and the auxiliary itself modified by another auxiliary. It not rare to have up to three auxiliaries in one VP:



The first auxiliary is in a finite form, while other possible auxiliaries and the head verb are in the infinitive form. The auxiliary can be interpreted as having the following VP as

⁶ The adopted definition of the auxiliary is extreme and needs some reworking.

its complement, which may itself contain another auxiliary. The last auxiliary has the simple VP as its complement.

As mentioned when discussing the conjugation of the verb (see 5.3.2.1.), if the agreement with the subject requires the plural or passive marking suffix (-u) on the head verb, this suffix may occur on the infinitive head verb, but more commonly with the auxiliary of the predicate.

The transitivity of the VP is decided by the head verb, since only the head verb can take a complement. The position of the complement in the VP with an auxiliary is determined by the head of the complement phrase.

- The complement which contains a noun as head of the NP, in the NP or PP complement, normally follows the infinitive head verb. Certain monosyllabic/one-word nouns, such as ho 'people', can also occur in the position of pronouns, described below. Example:

1. Beti-faa hay ki-tik cuunoh. 'The woman will prepare lunch.'
woman-DEF will(AUX) INF-cook lunch(OBJ)

2. Fu jom-oo bo' ki-dúk. 'You shouldn't fool people.'
you(sg) should(AUX)-PRES.NEG people(OBJ) INF-fool

- A pronoun complement occurs preceding the head verb, following the auxiliary. If the VP contains more than one auxiliary, there might be a choice where to place the pronoun complement, but the most frequent is for it to follow the last auxiliary, in order to be as close as possible to its governing verb. The same position is taken by the

preposition ga when it occurs in simple PP complement, and also by the locative demonstrative dii/dum/daa, even when it functions as adjunct in the clause⁷. Examples:

3. Mi hay-yaa ki-wo'. 'I will tell you.'

I will(AUX)-OBJ(2sg) INF-say

4. 'Ba mos-in ga ki-ñam. 'They have already eaten of it.'

they do.already(AUX)-PERF PART INF-eat

5. Sagac-caa hay-u dii ki-yuŋ. 'The guests will sit here.'

guests-DEF will(AUX)-PLUR here INF-sit

The structure of the VP can be presented as follows:

auxiliary (+ monosyllabic complement) + head verb (+ multisyllabic complements)

as in the examples:

Intransitive head verb:

6. Mi waa' ki-hay. 'I want to come.'

I want(AUX) INF-come

7. 'Ba teel-la ki-dal ki-son. 'They started to get tired early.'

they be.early(AUX)-NARR INF-begin(AUX) INF-be.tired

⁷The appearance of an adjunct in this complement position is probably due to analogy with the use of the locative pronoun as complement following locative verbs

Transitive head verb:

8. 'Beti-roo mín ki-tík haawu. 'My wife can prepare couscous.'

wife-REL(1sg) can(AUX) INF-cook couscous

9. Ya mín wa ki-tík. 'She can prepare it.'

s/he can(AUX) OBJ(C1sg) INF-cook

10. Ya haan dii ki-hay. 'S/he has just come here.'

s/he have.just(AUX) here INF-come

11. Kaa saŋ ga ki-ñam! 'Don't refuse to eat of it!'

PROH refuse(AUX) PART INF-eat

12. Dí jéem-ee-ra ki-ñis ca ki-ñam. 'We tried to stop eating them (e.g. peanuts).'

we.EXCL try(AUX)-PAST-PUNCT INF-leave(AUX) OBJ(C1pl) INF-eat

Ditransitive head verb:

13. 'Ba jom ki-'e' towu-taa iñaa ða waa' béeð.

they should(AUX) INF-give children-DEF(I.OBJ) P.REL(OBJ) they want all

'They ought to give the children everything they want.'

14. 'Ba jom-ða wa ki-'e'. 'They ought to give it to them.'

they should(AUX)-I.OBJ(3pl) OBJ(C1sg) INF-give

15. Mi hay-yi ki-lóm-í' piis. 'I am going to buy her some cloth.'

I will(AUX)-I.OBJ(3sg) INF-buy-TRANS cloth

6.3.2. The function of the auxiliary expansion

The function of the auxiliary is to give an aspectual modification to the whole clause.

The different aspects expressed by auxiliaries are:

- temporal
- volitional
- modal

6.3.2.1. Temporal auxiliaries

The rôle of the temporal auxiliaries is to specify the action in time, as a complement to the conjugational tense/aspect suffixes. Some of these temporal auxiliaries are more directly related to the tense of the verb, such as hay 'come' and yah 'go', which represent unmarked future, and haan 'have just' which expresses the immediate past. The difference in the use of the two future auxiliaries hay and yah seems to be determined by the degree of movement involved in the action. If the action encodes movement away and back on the part of the subject, the verb yah is used, whereas the verb hay is used wherever the movement is not in focus or where the action does not necessarily involve a movement at all:

1. Mi hay-yaa ki-wo'. 'I will tell you.'

I will(AUX)-OBJ(2sg) INF-tell

2. Mi yah ki-lom maalu. 'I will buy rice.'

I will(AUX) INF-buy rice

3. Ba haan ki-le'. 'They have just arrived.'

they have.just(AUX) INF-arrive

Other temporal auxiliaries are still related to the time frame, but they give an additional aspectual modification to the clause, which in English would be translated by a time adjunct. These verbs are for example:

gëy 'not do in a long time'

4. Mi gëy-in-daa ki-hot. 'I haven't seen you for a long time.'

I not.do.in.a.long.time(AUX)-PERF-OBJ(2sg) INF-see

mos 'do already'

5. Fu mos-in dii ki-hay-e? 'Have you already come here? (Have you been here before?)'

you(sg) do.already(AUX)-PERF here INF-come-PQ

lis 'still do, keep on'

6. Faan-fii fii lis ki-mesik. 'The body keeps hurting/ still hurts.'

body-DEF PROG keep.on(AUX) INF-hurt

teel 'do early'

7. 'Ba teel-la ki-yuuduk. 'They woke up early.'

they be.early(AUX)-NARR INF-wake.up

6.3.2.2. Volitional auxiliaries

These auxiliaries function to convey the volitional attitude of the subject, or the speaker.

They can either express an affirmative or a negative wish:

waa 'want'

1. Mi waa' na-rúu ki-saawal. 'I want to discuss with you.'

I want(AUX) with-OBJ(2pl) INF-discuss

jom/jek/nam 'should, ought'

2. Fu jom-oo ðo' ga ki-lap-luk-oh. 'You ought not to make people get up on it.'

you ought(AUX)-PRES.NEG people on(it) INF-climb-FACT-DUR

san 'refuse'

3. Ya san-goo ki-wo'. 'S/he refuses to tell me.'

s/he refuse(AUX)-OBJ(1sg) INF-tell

Another negative volitional auxiliary is bañ which only occurs preceded by another auxiliary, to give a negative modification to a following infinitive. Thus, its function could be described as an infinitive negation.

4. Jéem-aa ki-bañ ki-neeh! 'Try not to sleep!'

try(AUX)-IMP INF-not.do(AUX) INF-sleep

6.3.2.3. Modal auxiliaries

The modal auxiliaries serve to express the mode or the manner in which the action is performed. This includes the habitual auxiliaries mee' (<meed) 'be used to', used in the unmarked tense, and daanee 'used to', in the past tense:

1. Ya meerin (<meed-in) ki-'an kop. 'S/he is used to drinking palm wine.'

s/he be.used.to-PERF INF-drink palm.wine

2. Ya daanee ki-'an miis. 'S/he used to drink milk.'

s/he used.to INF-drink milk

Other modal auxiliaries are for example:

mín 'can, be able to'

3. Ba mín-oo ki-hay. 'They cannot come.'

they can(AUX)-PRES.NEG INF-come

sam 'be a little, be quite'

4. Mi sam-in ki-maañ ga ëldúna. 'I have lingered on earth quite a bit.'

I be.quite(AUX)-PERF INF-linger on earth

gaaw 'be quick'

5. Wati, dú gaaw-in ki-lëgëy. 'Today, you have worked quickly.'

today you(pl) be.quick(AUX)-PERF INF-work

yewin 'be abundant, do a lot'

6. Buwaa yewnuunun (>yewin-uunun) ki-hay ga feet-aa.

people be.abundant(AUX)-PERF(pl) INF-come to feast-DEF

'Many people came to the feast.'

6.3.3. Two phrasal auxiliaries

There are two auxiliaries that differ from those described above in several respects. To some extent, they are closer to the phrasal verbs (see 6.2.2.3.2.) because of their close links to their preposition, but since they are necessarily followed by a head verb in the infinitive, we have chosen to describe them in this section, where we label them phrasal

auxiliaries. As the phrasal verbs, these are also followed by a clitic: the preposition ga and na respectively. The phrasal auxiliaries are both modal aspectual auxiliaries:

aay ga 'be skilful/talented at'

en na 'be in the process of'

The primary meaning of the verb aay is stative: 'be strong, spicy, hot (food)', as in:

1. Këenii (<këení-ii) wii aay-in. 'This chili is hot.'

chili-DEF DEM be.hot-PERF

As an auxiliary, it has come to take a metaphorical sense in denoting a persons strength or ability at doing something, and when it takes an explicit infinitive complement in that context, it is always followed by the preposition ga.⁸

2. Kowu-kaa aay-in ga ki-bín. 'The child is good at writing.'

child-DEF be.strong(AUX)-PERF at INF-write

The infinitive head verb of the phrasal auxiliary aay ga may take a complement which follows the infinitive, or if the complement is an animate pronoun, it may occur before the infinitive, just as with other auxiliaries, but here suffixed to the preposition ga.

However, if the complement is inanimate and pronominal, there is a null argument; the pronoun is dropped and represented by the preposition ga alone, in the same way as with the phrasal verbs (see 4.1.5.2.).⁹

3. Ya aay-in ga ki-tík maafe. 'S/he is good at cooking "maafe".'

s/he be.strong(AUX)-PERF at INF-cook peanut.sauce.dish

⁸The infinitive complement can be implicit, and the auxiliary then represents the more general notion of 'being intelligent' or 'being gifted'. This use of the verb aay only occurs with animate subjects.

⁹For example, ga wa is represented by ga.

4. Ya aay-in ga-ríi ki-tík-i'. 'S/he is good at cooking for us.'

s/he be.talented(AUX)-PERF at-OBJ(1pEXCL) INF-cook-BEN

The verb en 'be' occurs with the preposition na 'with' as an auxiliary in the specific function of expressing the progressive aspect. We have mentioned that there are two ways to form a progressive predicate: with the conjugational progressive particle Cii/Cum/Caa (described in 5.3.3.2.2.) or with the auxiliary en na. Since the progressive particle only occurs in the present unmarked tense, the progressive aspect must in all other cases be expressed by en na. If the head verb is transitive, the complement occurs as with other auxiliaries, following the infinitive (multisyllabic noun) or the auxiliary (pronoun or monosyllabic noun). In the position of following the auxiliary, it is suffixed to the preposition na.

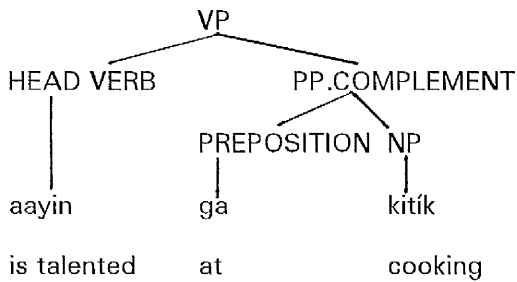
5. 'Beti-faa en na ki-tík. 'The woman is cooking.'

woman-DEF be with INF-cook

6. Ya en-ee na-ri ki-feek. 'S/he was beating him/her.'

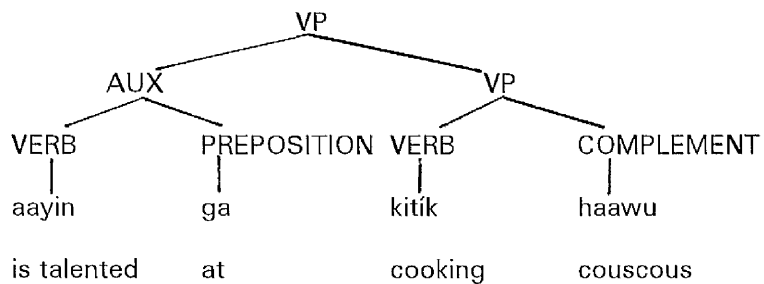
s/he be-PAST with-OBJ(3sg) INF-beat

As we have seen, both these verbs, like other auxiliaries, have as their complement an infinitive, but unlike the other auxiliaries described above, a preposition, which is linked to the auxiliary rather than to the head verb, is inserted between the auxiliary and the head verb. This is in opposition to the restriction we gave above (6.3.), that nothing should be inserted to indicate subordination or co-ordination between the auxiliary and the head verb. We could interpret this structure as these verbs being head verbs and their complement being a PP consisting of a preposition and a NP with a nominalised verb (the infinitive).



But when there is a complement in the VP, the NP with the infinitive has to be described as a VP since it is actually the infinitive head verb which takes the complements.

Therefore, it seems better to interpret the verbs aay ga and en na as complex auxiliaries, and their preposition as being part of the auxiliary itself as a sort of phrasal verb. That gives us the following structure of the same VP with a complement:



It is important to note the occurrence of the prepositions ga and na which surface in identical positions but with different functions in sentences like:

7. Ya saŋ ga ki-ñam. 'S/he refuses to eat some of it.'

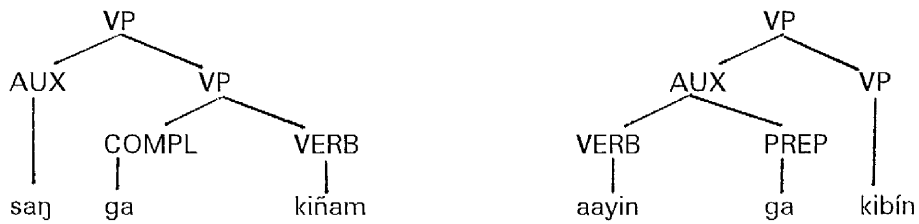
s/he refuse(AUX) PART INF-eat

8. Ya aay-in ga ki-bín. 'S/he is good at writing.'

s/he be.clever-PERF at INF-write

In example 7, ga is the single element of the PP which functions as the partitive complement of the verb 'eat' (Ya saŋ kiñam ga maalii. - 'S/he refuses to eat some of

the rice.'). In example 8 however, the preposition is part of the auxiliary, followed by the VP with the head infinitive. The relation can be described as follows:



The same difference in function can be found in the use of the preposition na:

9. Mi hay ki-taam na buba. 'I will come with father.'

I will(AUX) INF-follow with father

10. Mi hay na-ri ki-taam. 'I will come with him.'

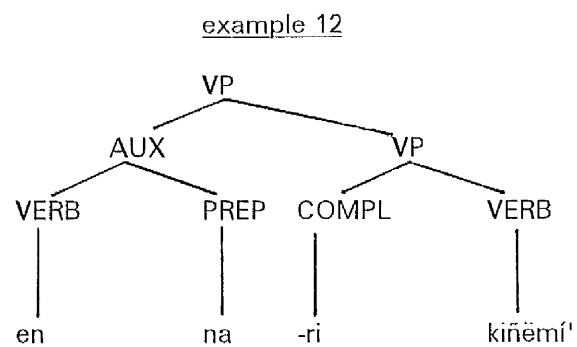
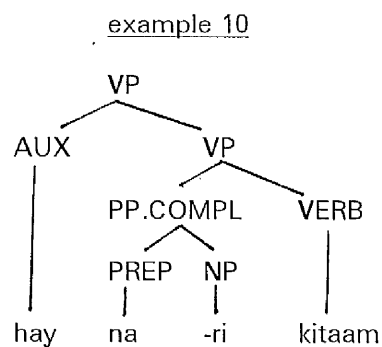
I will(AUX) with-OBJ(3sg) INF-follow

11. Mi en na ki-ñēmí' baayfaa. 'I am feeding the dog.'

I be(AUX) with INF-feed dog-DEF

12. Mi en na-ri kiñēmí'. 'I am feeding it.'

I be with-OBJ(3sg) INF-feed



6.4. The comparative VP

Comparison in Noon is expressed by means of the comparative verb wēñ, which carries the sense of 'more'. It has great similarity with the auxiliaries, but its specific function and the structure of the VP where it appears, leads us to treat the use of this verb in a separate type of VP. In the same way as the auxiliaries, the comparative verb is always followed by an infinitive, but when there is an object present, it is not the object of the infinitive, as is the case in the VP with an auxiliary, but of the comparative verb. If the infinitive is stative or intransitive, the comparative object may follow either the verb wēñ directly, or it may also follow the infinitive:

1. Mi wēñ Demba ki-hoo'. 'I am taller than Demba.'

I COMP Demba INF-be.tall

or

2. Mi wēñ ki-hoo' Demba. 'I am taller than Demba.'

I COMP INF-be.tall Demba

There is a third possibility, which is less commonly occurring, where the comparative conjunction loo 'than' (see 7.1.2.) is being used to link the comparative object to the VP. The comparative object in this case cannot be a pronoun, but must be a full noun. This structure has a stronger effect than the above examples.

3. Mi wēñ ki-hoo' loo Demba. 'I am taller than (even) Demba.'

I COMP INF-be.tall than Demba

The construction of the comparative VP could be compared to that of a transitive verb like 'beat' or 'overcome', where the infinitive and its own possible complements function as a determination of the comparative verb and complement. Examples 1-3 above could thus be expressed as: 'I beat Demba in being tall.'

When the infinitive has its own objects, they do not occur before the infinitive, and the comparative object must occur immediately following wěñ or attached by the preposition loo. Thus, the VP may include both a comparative object and objects of the infinitive. If the comparative object is postposed to the infinitive with the preposition loo, it follows after the objects of the infinitive:

4. Mi wěñ Demba ki-ñam maalu. 'I eat more rice than Demba.'

I COMP Demba INF-eat rice

or

5. Mi wěñ ki-ñam maalu loo Demba.

I COMP INF-eat rice than Demba

This gives us the following possible constructions for the comparative VP:

wěñ + obj + {infinitive (+ complement)}

wěñ + {infinitive (+ complement)} + loo + obj

From these constructions we could draw the conclusion that the verb wěñ has two objects: one comparative, and one giving the actual content of the comparison. The comparative object is a NP (pronouns may only occur when the comparative object precedes the content object; the infinitive verb), while the content object is realised by an embedded VP of an infinitive and its possible complement. There are great similarities between this structure and that of ditransitive verbs with two nominal objects. Here as well, the indirect object is always animate, and it precedes the direct object, except in the case where it occurs in a PP with ga, which occurs in final position in the VP. A difference between these two types is that when the indirect object is postposed in a PP with ga, it is optional in the clause and therefore not part of the complement, while the comparative object is an obligatory part of the VP, even when occurring postposed in a PP with loo.

verb + NP(I.OBJ) + NP(D.OBJ)

verb + NP(D.OBJ) + ga + NP(I.OBJ)

Another possible structure of the comparative VP is for a clause to function as the comparative object. When this is the case, the clause has to be linked to the comparison by the comparative conjunction loo. The clause complement preceded by the conjunction will then always follow after the infinitive.

6. Mi wěñ ki-wo' loo mi ñam. 'I speak more than I eat.'

I COMP INF-speak than I eat

In order to express a superlative, there are two options available, of which the first is the most common:

- to use the universal quantifier tóoh 'all' as the comparative object:

7. Mi wěñ ki-hoo' tóoh. 'I am the tallest of all. / I am taller than all.'

I COMP INF-be.tall all

- to omit the comparative object, but here it is necessary to emphasise the subject with an emphatic pronoun:

8. Mi yěrí wěñ ki-hoo'. 'I am the one who is the tallest.'

I P.EMPH COMP INF-be.tall

Negative comparison 'less than', cannot be expressed by a simple comparative verb.

Here, one would have to:

- use a verb of opposite signification (ex. 10);
- reverse the subject and object;
- use an expression with a verb such as jutuut 'be small (ex. 12)'

in the following ways:

9. 'Ba wěñ-júu ki-'úsaay. 'They are further away than you.'

they COMP-OBJ(2pl) INF-be.far.away

10. 'Ba wěñ-júu ki-deey'. 'They are closer (= less far away) than you.'

they COMP-OBJ(2pl) INF-be.close

11. Mi wěñ-ji ki-ñam maalu. 'I eat more than him.'

I COMP-OBJ(3sg) INF-eat rice

12. Mi wěñ-ji ki-jutuut ki-ñam maalu. 'I eat less than him.' (lit: I eat more little than him.)

I COMP-OBJ(3sg) INF-be.small(AUX) INF-eat rice

A final note can be made about the verb gěñ 'be better' which is used in a comparative sense, either with an explicit object or as an absolute comparative. Unlike the comparative verb wěñ whose function is to put comparison to a verb, the verb gěñ cannot co-occur with another verb. It is in itself both content object and comparative verb. If the object is overt, it appears following the verb without a link, as for any transitive verb.

13. Wěrí gěñ. 'That is better.'

P.EMPH be.better

14. Padee gěñ Caañaak. 'Fandène is better than Thiès.'

Fandène be.better Thiès

6.5. VP with a reduplicative expansion

The VP with a reduplicative expansion consists of a VP followed by the head verb of this VP being repeated in its infinitive form. It is common for the verb to be repeated up to three times, but there is no specific limit to the number of repetitions. The repetition is always followed by the conjunction bi 'until' which may operate in its normal conjunctive function, i.e. linking the previous and following clause, but it may also occur without a following clause, and serve simply to mark the end of a durative action. It is quite frequent for the conjunction to be pronounced with a lengthening of its vowel, to enhance the intensity of the utterance.¹⁰

The reduplicative device has an effect of extending the duration of the action, and in some respect to intensify the performance of the verb. There is a correlation between the number of times that the verb is repeated and the factual duration of the action. In the following examples the reduplicative expansion is underlined:

1. Mi fool-la ki-fool ki-fool ki-fool bi. 'I ran and ran and ran.'

I run-NARR INF-run x3 until

2. Mi waa' ki-jaŋ ki-jaŋ ki-jaŋ ki-jaŋ bi mi en ha'-dëk ga ðekat-ii wii.

I want(AUX) INF-study INF-study x3 until I be chief-village in place-DEF this

'I want to study study study until I become the village chief of this place.'

Note that in example 2, it is a VP with an auxiliary expansion that is modified with the reduplicative expansion, whereas in the first example, it is a finite verb in a simple VP which is repeated.

¹⁰Compare the expressive phonology of the conjunction in this position with that of ideophonic adverbs, that are linked to verbs in idioms, such as [tamba jĩrrr] 'very hot' and [sagin fiiiis] 'totally refused' (4.2.4.).

Since the reduplicative expansion has to be followed by a conjunction, the expansion itself must occur clause finally. This means that all complements - nominal, pronominal and prepositional - occur in the head VP only, before the reduplicative expansion. If the clause, where this type of VP occurs, contains an adjunct, this also precedes the reduplicative expansion. Normally, however, this construction does not allow for other than quite short adjuncts. The expansion cannot be distanced from its head verb by more than a short, unstressed element, as na wek 'at night' in the last example below.

3. Ja feek-ka pénís-faa ki-feek ki-feek ki-feek bi. 'He hit and hit and hit the horse.'

he(C5.DIM) hit-NARR horse-DEF INF-hit x3 until

4. Dí sek-in-dúu ki-sek ki-sek bi! 'We have waited and waited for you!'

we.EXCL wait-PERF-OBJ(2pl) INF-wait x2 until

5. Ya tíid-is-sa na wek, ki-tíin ki-tíin ki-tíin bi ya híd-oh-ha na gumuu.

he walk-REP-NARR at night INF-walk x3 until he meet-REC-NARR with hyena

'He walked and walked at night until he met Hyena.'

The use of reduplication as a means to express duration also appears in the clause, where the whole clause is repeated with an effect very similar to that of the extended VP (see Reduplicative clauses, 9.2.3.).

7. CONJUNCTIONS, PARTICLES, INTERJECTIONS

7.1. Conjunctions

- 7.1.1. Co-ordinate conjunctions
- 7.1.2. Subordinate conjunctions
- 7.1.3. Discourse conjunctions

7.2. Particles

- 7.2.1. Conjugational particles
- 7.2.2. The presentative particle
- 7.2.3. The negative existential particle
- 7.2.4. Emphatic particles
- 7.2.5. Sentence modifying particles

7.3. Interjections

7.1. Conjunctions

The conjunctions form a small, closed class with the function of linking clauses, sentences and, on some occasions, NPs. However, as mentioned earlier, there are conjunctions that can also function as prepositions (na 'with', bi 'until' and balaa 'before'). The majority of the conjunctions are separate words, but there are two conjunctions that are suffixed to the clause-final word (-oo 'or', the irrealis subordinator -aa). Since these suffixes both lack an initial consonant, an epenthetic nasal will precede the suffixes if the suffixed word has a vowel in its final position (see 1.3.3.).

As said, the function of the conjunction is to link two clauses or sentences (occasionally NPs) and, at the same time, denote the relationship between these clauses. These relationships will be described in more detail later, in dealing with different types of sentences (see 9.2.). Here, the conjunctions will be listed, with their respective main significations. First we describe the co-ordinate conjunctions that link independent clauses, and secondly the conjunctions that mainly function to link a subordinate clause to a head clause. Finally, we present the two conjunctions that function in the larger context: to link sentences within the discourse.

7.1.1. Co-ordinate conjunctions

ee 'and, but' (additive / adversive)

The conjunction ee has the functions of additive 'and' or adversive 'but'. In its adversive sense, it has a less common variant: wayee. In some cases, ee can be interpreted as either adversive or additive, as in example 1:

1. Mi heel-ee-ra ee mi hot-éerfi ken. 'I searched but/and I saw nobody.'

I search-PAST-PUNCT and I see-PAST.NEG nobody

In other examples, one or the other of the additive/adversive functions must be chosen, according to the context:

2. Mi heel-ee kopar-aa, ee mi hot-in wa. 'I searched for the money and found it.'

I search-PAST money-DEF and I see-PERF OBJ

na 'and' (additive/comitative)¹

There is a second additive conjunction, na, which has also have a comitative signification. Na, however, differs from other conjunctions in that it does not link two clauses or sentences, but only NPs (see 3.3.2.). The conjunction ee (above) cannot occur in that function.

3. 'Beti na y'aal. 'A woman and a man.'

woman and man

¹Note that na also functions as a preposition (see 4.1.1.).

-oo 'or' (alternative)

This suffix conjunction can be used to link either clauses or NPs (see 3.3.2.), in order to express an alternation between the two. The conjunction -oo is suffixed to the last word of the first element of the two that are linked (clause or NP).

4. 'Ba lëgëy-oo ña neeh? 'Are they working or sleeping?'
they work-or they sleep

5. Dí y'ah ki-lom tohoo-n-oo maalu. 'We are going to buy millet or rice.'
we.EXCL go INF-buy millet-N-or rice

The conjunction -oo also has a distributive function, but only within a complex NP where it is suffixed to each noun. This usage is mainly restricted to certain expressions with a fixed order of constituents, although it does have a certain degree of productivity (see 3.3.2.).

6. ñet-oo y'aal-oo 'women as well as men' (= 'everybody')

7. yúk-oo lah-oo 'dry as well as rainy season' (= 'all year round')

wala 'or' alternative

Wala is a Wolof (Arabic) loan word, which is frequently used synonymously with the conjunction -oo, linking both clauses and NPs (see 3.3.2.).

8. Fu an músú wala ataaya? 'Will/do you drink water or tea?'
you(sg) drink water or tea

9. Fu mín-doo ki-ee' wala mi mín wa ki-heel haf-foo.

you(sg) can(AUX)-OBJ(1sg) INF-give or I can(AUX) OBJ(C1) INF-get self-REL(1sg)

'You can give (it) to me, or I can get it myself.'

mbati 'or' alternative

Mbati is used in the same way as wala, but not between NPs; only to link clauses. (For example, see 10.5.3.2., ex. 1)

7.1.2. Subordinate conjunctions

an 'thus, like this, that' (complementiser)

The conjunction an is used to link a complement clause to the main, matrix clause. At the same time it introduces direct or indirect speech. As seen above, it can also function as an adverb denoting manner: 'in this way' (see 4.2.2.1.). The meaning of an can be interpreted as cataphoric: 'this, the following', referring forward in discourse.

1. Yaal-aa wo'-'a an: Lap-aa baam-iii! 'The man said: Mount the donkey!'

man-DEF say-NARR COMPL mount-IMP donkey-DEF

2. Mati wo'-ee an hay ki-ka' Dakaa' simin-ii hay da.

Mati say-PAST COMPL will(AUX) INF-leave.for Dakar week-DEF come REL.M

'Mati said that she will leave for Dakar next week.'

ati 'if whether' (indirect polar question introducer)

Similarly to an, this conjunction also introduces a complement clause, but in a more specific situation: When a question is expressed indirectly, ati 'if' is used to introduce

the indirect question. Ati is most frequently used for yes-no (polar) questions, but it does also occur in indirect question-word questions, as in example 4.

3. Mi ínoh-oo ati ya hay-in. 'I don't know if s/he has come.'

I know-PRES.NEG if s/he come-PERF

4. Ati ya laak towu tera? 'How many children does s/he have?'

if s/he have children how.many

The conjunction ati has an irrealis tag, atinaa² 'or not', that can be added to the indirect question, occurring clause finally.

5. Mi ínoh-oo ati ya hay-in atinaa. 'I don't know if s/he has come or not.'

I know-PRES.NEG if s/he come-PERF or.not

-aa irrealis subordinator / 'if, when' (future/conditional)

The conjunction -aa has the function of marking a clause for irrealis subordination. It may occur as the only conjunction in the sentence, conveying an irrealis temporal/conditional meaning ('when, if'), but it may also co-occur with other subordinate conjunctions, wherever an irrealis subordinate clause is found (see 9.2.4.). Consequently, -aa is more than a normal conjunction, since it also marks for the irrealis subordinative aspect, and therefore we give it the more general label of "irrealis subordinator". The irrealis subordinator is suffixed to the clause-final word of the subordinate clause. However, when occurring in a sentence-final position, -aa may sometimes be omitted (see 8.2.2.1.).

²Note that atinaa contains the morphemes ati 'if' and -aa which is the irrealis subordinator described immediately below, linked to the conjunction by an epenthetic nasal.

6. Fu hay-aa dú y'ah. 'When you come, we will leave.'

you(sg) come-SUB we.INCL go

waa 'when' (past temporal)

The conjunction waa 'when' has a past temporal function. It introduces the subordinate temporal clause. Note that the verb in the subordinate clause does not have a past tense marker. This is not necessary since the conjunction waa in itself indicates past tense.

7. Waa mi hay kaan-dúu, mi laak-kii ken.

when I come house-REL(2sg) I find-ASP.NEG nobody

'When I came to your house, I found nobody.'

balaa 'before' (temporal)

As seen (4.1.2.), this conjunction also serves as a preposition. As a conjunction it introduces the subordinate clause. Since balaa always introduces a clause where the action has not yet been realised, in past or future tense (seen from the temporal reference point), it co-occurs with the irrealis subordinator (see 9.2.4.3.1.3.).

8. Balaa ya út hareen-caa-n-aa, ya pook ca.

before s/he grill peanuts-DEF-N-SUB s/he crack OBJ(C1.pl)

'Before she grills the peanuts, she cracks them.'

bi 'until, so that' (temporal/purposive)

9. Ħam-aa bi fu kap! 'Eat until you are full! / Eat so that you get full.'
eat-IMP until you(sg) be.full

binaa 'if' (conditional)

11. Binaa fu waar-aa , fu mín dii ki-hay. 'If you want to, you may come here.'
if you(sg) want-SUB you(sg) can(AUX) here INF-come

ndaga³ 'because' (causal)

This conjunction denotes that the clause which it introduces, is the cause of the other clause to which it is linked; 'because'.

12. Mi ñam ndaga mi yaaw-in. 'I eat because I am hungry.'

I eat because I be.hungry-PERF

en danaa 'so that, in order that' (purposive)

This is a construction of the verb en 'be' and the adverb da 'thus', followed by the irrealis subordinator suffix -aa (with an epenthetic nasal), which together carry a purposive function when acting as a conjunction. Unlike the conjunction bi which may also have a purposive use, it has no temporal connotation of purpose but only a logical one. The construction is often abbreviated to en daa.

13. Laak-in taabul faan-u ga hoo'laat-aa giw-aa en daa sagac-caa yug-u ga.

exist-PERF table put-PASS at length-DEF enclosure-DEF so.that guests-DEF sit-PLUR on

'There is a table that has been placed at the long side of the enclosure, for the guests to sit on.'

doo 'so that, in order that' (purposive)

The conjunction doo signals that the following clause expresses the purpose of the previous one. Doo can occur, although infrequently, in the form doonaa, which is also an adverb. As a conjunction, doo is used in the same way as the expression en danaa⁴.

³Variant: ndah

⁴Note that as an adverb, doonaa is temporal, 'when' (see 4.2.1.1.), while the adverbial function of en danaa is circumstantial.

14. Wo'-aa ga dook doo buwaa keloh-u! 'Speak loudly so that people can hear!'

speak-IMP at high so.that people hear-PLUR

loo 'than' (comparative)

The comparative conjunction loo functions to link a clause or a NP to a clause, indicating a comparison between the two: 'than' (see also 6.4.).

15. Mi wēñ ki-wo' loo Kodu. 'I speak more than Kodu.'

I COMP INF-speak than Kodu

16. Mi wēñ ki-wo' loo mi ñam. 'I speak more than I eat.'

I COMP INF-speak than I eat

17. Mi wēñ ki-laak kopa' loo Kodu. 'I have more money (am richer) than Kodu.'

I COMP INF-have money than Kodu

luu 'although' (concessive)

The conjunction luu has a concessive function 'although, in spite of'. It only occurs as a conjunction, followed by a clause with a verb. It is never followed by a NP, and thus, notions such as 'in spite of the rain' is expressed by an action, 'although it rains'. Luu often occurs in a construction with the verb en 'be' and the complementiser an; luu en an or luu enee an. This construction has the same signification as the simple luu, but it reinforces the concession: 'although it was so that...'

18. Luu (en-ee an) noh-ii tam-in, ya kar-ee yoon.

although (be-PAST COMPL) sun-DEF be.hot-PERF s/he go-PAST field

'Although (it was so that) the sun was hot, s/he went to the field.'

7.1.3. Discourse conjunctions

The following two conjunctions differ from the previous ones in that they link clauses or sentences as separate utterances. Thus, they do not conjoin two clauses into one sentence, but they function to conjoin sentences on a discourse level. These conjunctions describe the relationship of a certain clause/sentence to previous one(s), although sometimes these previous sentences may be implicit and in the minds of the interlocutors.

kon 'so' (conclusive)

The conjunction kon is being used to link sentences, introducing the sentence that concludes the preceding one/s; 'thus, so'. As said, the previous sentences may be implied, and the conjunction serves to summarise an implicit proposition.

1. Kon, kuwis du hídoh-an ga marsi. 'So tomorrow we will meet at the market.'

so tomorrow we.INCL meet-FUT at market

haa 'what about?, how about?' (additive)

Haa occurs as an additive conjunction with the function of introducing another person or object in the conversation by posing a question to or about him/her/it. Quite often, it is a previous proposition that is being turned to a different person or object, most commonly to a person in the 2sg. The conjunction precedes the noun or pronoun that indicates the addressee of the question.

2. Mi teek-u Bañ. Haa fu? Fu teek-u na?

I name-PASS Bañ what.about you(sg) you(sg) name-PASS how

'My name is Bañ. And what about you? What's your name?'

7.2. Particles

Particles are words or affixes that function only as a syntagmatic feature, thus with a grammatical function on a higher level than the word, but not with a separate lexical meaning. Consequently, they do not fit into one of the above word classes, and they may not be regarded as affixes to these. Except for the progressive and the presentative particles, all particles are uninflected. Four of the particles function in the predicate of the clause: two have a conjugational function, occurring in the predicate to modify the verb only (progressive and prohibitive particles), while two others function as the predicate itself in non-verbal clauses (presentative and negative existential particles). The emphatic particles may modify either a clause or, in most cases, a NP. Finally, there are four sentence particles that only function to modify the whole clause or sentence.

7.2.1. Conjugational particles

The conjugational particles have been described above (see 5.3.1.), as part of the conjugational system. The particles are:

- the progressive particle (see also 5.3.3.2.2.) Cii/ Cum/ Caa
- the prohibitive particle (see also 5.3.4.1.) kaa

7.2.2. The presentative particle

Like the conjugational particles, the presentative one functions in the predicate.

However, unlike the conjugational particles, it does not co-occur with a verb but always as the sole element of the predicate (see also 6.1.). Its function is to present the existence or position of an object/person, 'here is/are X', similar to the French

'voici/voilà X'. Like the progressive particle, the presentative one has an initial agreement marker, but there is no position marking - the position of the object/person does not need to be specified; it is always understood as close, in order to be able to be presented. The definite suffix of the subject in a clause with a presentative particle as its predicate, always has the close position marker -ii. If another location is in question in a presentation, another construction with the progressive particle with the verb en 'be (explicit or implicit) has to be used.

presentative particle = agreement marker+ -ee

noun class	singular	plural
1	wee	cee
2	fee	cee
3	mee	cee
4	kee	tee
5	pee	tee
6	jee	tee
[+animate]	yee	bee

The presentative particle occurs very often with the referential suffix -ma.

1. Mi yee-ma rek na jam. 'I am just here with peace.' (response to 'How are you?')
 I PRES-REF only with peace

2. Kaan-fii-goo fee. 'Here is my house.'
 house-DEF-POSS(1sg) PRES

7.2.3. The negative existential particle

There is a negative particle, gaa, which only occurs in existential non-verbal clauses, as a negative counterpart of progressive particles in existential clauses (see 6.1.). This particle has to be followed by a locative PP, often represented by the preposition ga. When ga alone marks the locative, the context will have to decide what position is referred to since there is no position marking on this particle (as in ex. 2).

1. Mati gaa ga yoon-aa. 'Mati is not on the field.'

Mati NEG.EXIST on field-DEF

2. Ha'-kaan gaa ga. 'The master of the house is not there/here.'

master-house NEG.EXIST at

7.2.4. Emphatic particles

There are several emphatic particles that function on a discourse level (see also 10.4.3.):

- daal, nak, déy all function to emphasise a fronted topicalised element, which may be a NP or a whole clause
- de almost always occurs in a prepausal position, to give emphasis to the whole previous utterance
- sah, ban may emphasise any constituent of the clause

All these particles occur immediately following the emphasised constituent (as the last element of the NP, or clause finally). There are a few other emphatic particles that are used in much the same way as the first three particles above. They can be said to be synonymous with déy. Some are borrowed from neighbouring languages, but they all occur with much less frequency than the particles presented here. Examples of these less central particles are: kat and kay.

Daal occurs emphasising a topicalised item that is already known information, but it also has a function of emotional emphasis or surprise, specifically when emphasising the whole clause, with the notion of 'oh' or 'really'.

1. En-ee beti na y'aal, ee y'aal-aa daal, yah-aa kúg-in.

be-PAST woman and man and man-DEF PTC.EMPH hand-DEF bend-PERF

'There was a woman and a man, and oh the man was mean/greedy.' (lit: 'His hand was bent')

The particle nak also emphasises notions that are known information, but it has an antithetical function, contrasting the emphasised constituent to previous utterances; 'as to', 'when it comes to', 'on the other hand'. It is placed immediately after the constituent which is in focus for the contrast. This particle rarely occurs emphasising a whole topicalised clause.

2. Mi keen-oo gaac, mi keen-oo gaac-ci. Gaac-ci-ci nak, Kooh ínoh.

I fall-PRES.NEG next.year I fall-PRES.NEG next.year.-REL(3sg) next.year-REL(3sg)-REL(3sg) PTC.EMPH God know

'I won't fall down next year and I won't fall down the year after next. As to the following year, God knows.'

Déy has a function similar to that of daal, but it may also emphasise new information, which is mentioned for the first time in the discourse. It appears very commonly with the 1sg pronoun mi.

3. Mi déy, mi koor-an ga waas-um wi-yaak-wum. 'I, I will pass by the big road.'

I PTC.EMPH I pass-FUT on road-DEF ATTR-big-DEF

4. Alaak-caa déy, cóoní'enoh-caa ñaa ñam alaak-caa!

beans-DEF PTC.EMPH butterflies-DEF PROG eat beans-DEF

'Oh, the beans! The butterflies are eating the beans!'

The particle de is an emphatic particle that is used in several Senegalese languages⁵. As mentioned, it almost always occurs prepausally, and is therefore followed by a non-phonemic glottal plosive, as all short vowels in a prepausal position (see 1.1.2.). This glottal plosive very eloquently adds to the insisting attitude of the speaker. De is by far the most common of the emphatic particles.

5. Mi ínoh-oo de! 'I (really) don't know!'

I know-PRES.NEG PTC.EMPH

The particles sah 'even' and ñan 'too, also' may emphasise any constituent of the clause: the NP, PP or the verb itself. In other words, they operate both as nominal modifiers and as adverbs. However, because of their multipositional functions, it seems preferable to treat them as emphatic particles.

6. Buba sah keloh-hii ñāaa-ma. 'Even father hasn't heard that.'

father even hear-ASP.NEG P.I-REF

7. Dí kar-ee-ra ga dúuy' luuf-aa sah. 'We went even into the forest.'

⁵Often called "particle d'insistance", e.g. in the Wolof-French dictionary by Fal, Santos and Doneux (1990)

we.EXCL go-PAST-PUNCT in inside forest-DEF even

8. Ya yuŋ-gii sah! 'S/he hasn't even sat down!'

s/he sit-ASP.NEG even

9. Mi ɓan 'Me too.'

I also

10. Mi ñam-in ee mi an-in ɓan. 'I have eaten and I have also drunk.'

I eat-PERF and I drink-PERF also

7.2.5. Sentence modifying particles

- Yes-no question /polar question marker

The yes-no question is marked by the suffix -e, that occurs sentence finally (with the epenthetic nasal when preceded by a vowel).

1. Noh-ii tam-oo-n-e 'Isn't the sun hot?'

sun-DEF be.hot-PRES.NEG-N-PQ

2. Ba hay-in-e? 'Have they come?'

they come-PERF-PQ

- Direct question introducer: maa

The particle maa is used to introduce a question of any type. However, it is not an obligatory part of the interrogation, but it serves on the discourse level to prepare the hearer for the awaited response from him/her, giving the question a more polite turn.

The function of maa could be compared to that of 'say' preceding a question. Maa only occurs in direct speech.

3. Maa du tum-an na? 'Say, how are we going to do that?'
PTC.Q we.INCL do-FUT how

4. Maa yiy-óo? 'Say, mother?'
PTC.Q mother-VOC

5. Maa inii en halaat-fu ya ga inaa-ma? 'Say, what are your thoughts on that?'
PTC.Q P.I be thought-REL(2sg) what on P.I-REF

- Suggestion introducer: laa

This particle is used in the same way as the question introducer, to prepare the listener for the exhortation and make it more polite. Laa introduces exhortations of different structures: indicative (ex. 6), imperative (ex. 7) and optative (ex. 8). It could be translated by 'may' or simply 'please'.

6. Enoh-cum tóoh, laa fu níir-i-ḡa! 'All the cows, may you graze them.'
cows-DEF all SUGG you graze-HAB-OBJ(3pl)

7. Binaa Kooh on-daa alal, laa gërëm-aa-ri!
if God give-OBJ(2sg) riches SUGG thank-IMP-OBJ(3sg)
'If God gives you riches, may you thank him!'

8. Laa wo'-at-ḡa ḡa hay-at! 'Please tell them to come!'
SUGG say-OPT-OBJ(3pl) they come-OPT

- Relative marker: *da*

The relative marker occurs in a clause final position, to mark that clause as embedded in a NP. The relative marker is not always obligatory in the relative clause; it may be omitted when certain elements occur clause finally (see 8.2.1.).

9. *Beti-faa en na ki-ham da teek-u Kodu.* 'The woman who is dancing is called Kodu.'
 woman-DEF be with INF-dance REL.M name-PASS Kodu

7.3. Interjections

Interjections consist of a closed class of words that have the syntactic feature of constituting single word clauses. The interjections presented here can be divided into the following types, according to their semantic functions:

- communicative, in dialogue (answering a call, or a question, greetings)
- expressing an emotion
- chasing away animals and children

- Communicative, in dialogue

This first type of interjections always play a communicative part in a dialogue between two persons. Thus, answering a question or a call includes words like:

1. *ee* 'yes'
2. *ahaangkay* 'yes' (answering a negative question, French: 'si')
3. *ó'óo* 'no'
4. *yóow* 'yes, here' (used to answer the call of somebody's name)

or when offering something to somebody, the following word is used:

5. uuna 'here you are'

In this group of communication, we also find the greetings, that are fixed expressions according to the time and situation:

6. wēltaat 'good morning'

7. hoḅkaat 'good day'

8. hēwraat 'good evening'

9. aaw answer to all the above greetings

- Expressing an emotion

Interjections that express an emotion have, naturally, a wider range of intonation and a more forceful pronunciation than what is normal. These are two of the ones most commonly heard:

10. aa' expressing surprise

11. ēey' expressing fear and/or surprise

- Chasing away animals or children

Interjections used to chase away animals or children are also forcibly pronounced. When taking a derogatory attitude towards an adult, the same words may be used as for children and bigger animals.

12. aca to chase away children or bigger animals
13. kees to chase away small animals, like poultry

8. THE CLAUSE

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- 8.3.4. Concord between clause elements

This chapter deals with the clause in Noon. The structure of different clause types and their functions will be described, as well as the different clause elements and the concord between them. There are three types of non-verbal clauses - the existential, equative and presentative - but these still follow the general structure of the simple clause:

clause = (adverbial+) subject+ predicate (+adverbial)

The difference is that the existential and equative clauses still have a conjugational particle functioning as its predicate, and the predicate in the presentative clause consists of a presentative particle. But since a predicate is present, although its content differs, the non-verbal clauses can be said to follow the same basic clause pattern as verbal clauses.

The clause can be defined in terms of a core and a periphery. The core consists of the obligatory elements, subject and predicate, whereas the periphery, the adverbials, is optional and provides extra information to what is conveyed by the core. Of the elements in the core, the predicate is the most permanent part of the clause. Under certain circumstances, the subject may be optional or it may have to be absent in certain constructions such as the imperative (see 9.1.3.).

8.1. Clause types

On the basis of the internal structure of the clause, five different clause types can be set up:

- intransitive clauses
- transitive clauses
- existential clauses
- equative clauses
- presentative clauses

The difference in structure between these clause types lies in the type of VP functioning as predicate. It is the valency of the head verb that decides the intransitive/transitive distinction of clause types. The existential and equative clauses may have a verbal or non-verbal predicate, whereas the presentative clause must be non-verbal. Finally, in addition to these clause types that all occur as main clauses, two separate clauses will be described which have different functions. These are the relative clause, and the subordinate clause.

8.1.1. Intransitive and transitive clauses

Intransitive and transitive clauses have the same basic structure;

subject + predicate

and the only difference lies in the type of VP that constitutes the predicate: intransitive or transitive. The structure of these VPs has been described above (6.2.). However, there are some remarks that have to be made on two of the intransitive types of clauses, concerning certain restrictions on the subject.

8.1.1.1. Weather-predicates

When situations of natural phenomena are described, such as the weather or the different stages of the day, many languages use some kind of empty subject, such as 'It is raining' or 'Il fait jour.' This is not the case in Noon, where there are the following ways of expressing these kinds of information:

- In some cases, a natural subject is used, as in

1. Noh-ii tam-in. 'It is hot./The sun is hot.' (also 'It is in the middle of the day.')
sun-DEF be.hot-PERF

2. Noh-ii soos-in.¹ 'It is cold/The sun is cold.' (also 'It is getting late.')
sun-DEF be.cold-PERF

- Sometimes, the subject is omitted if the verb is morphologically related to the noun subject, as in:

uuris 'wind; to blow/be windy'

3. uurisaa uuris-in → uurisin 'it is windy'
wind-DEF be.windy-PERF

¹This expression has been lexicalised in the compound noun noosoos 'evening'.

- However, in most cases the noun Kooh 'God' is used as the subject for weather-predicates, as in:

4. Kooh towin. 'God has made rain./It has rained.'
5. Kooh wiisin. 'God has made dawn./Dawn has broken.'
6. Kooh hoowin. 'God has made the day pass./It is evening.'
7. Kooh soosin. 'God has made cold./ It is evening. / It's cold.'
8. Kooh yeenin. 'God has made the first rain (of the season) fall./It has rained for the first time.'

8.1.1.2. Stative cognition verbs

Some of the stative verbs express a state which is based on the cognition or attitude of the speaker or a person referred to by the speaker. However, the subject of these verbs is not the subject of the cognition but the person or object that is in the state expressed by the verb, although the subject is often omitted and comparable to an impersonal dummy subject such as 'it'. However, in order to express the subject of this cognition, or the person on which the impersonal state has an impact, an animate object has to be suffixed to the verb or to the preposition ga. The object here functions more like an indirect object, which is reflected by the fact that it may be replaced by a PP with the dative preposition ga, or it may in some cases require this construction (ex. 6).

Examples of these stative verbs are:

lee' 'be clear'

1. ki-bín-kaa leer-in 'the writing is clear'

INF-write-DEF be.clear-PERF

ne6 'be nice (tasty/pleasant)'

2. feet-aa new-in 'the party is nice'

party-DEF be.nice-PERF

yooḅ 'be easy'

3. ham-aa yooḅ-pii 'the dance isn't easy'

dance-DEF be.easy-ASP.NEG

The persons experiencing these types of cognitive-sensory phenomena are expressed as follows:

4. kibínkaa leerin-doo 'the writing is clear to me' (= 'I think the writing is clear')

5. feetaa newin-díi 'the party is nice to us' (= 'We like the party')

6. hamaa yoowin gaḅa 'the dance is easy to them' (= 'They find the dance easy')

8.1.2. Existential clauses

The existential clause functions to introduce a person or an object, equivalent to the use of 'there is'/'there are'. It may also state the location of the subject. There are two ways to construct an existential clause: with a non-verbal predicate, or with the verbs en 'be' or laak 'have'.

8.1.2.1. Existential clauses with a non-verbal predicate.

The non-verbal predicate consists of a non-verbal VP with a progressive particle. As we said in describing this VP (6.1.), the progressive particle, which makes up the predicate, can also function as a progressive conjugation marker with a verb. When occurring in a non-verbal clause, it can still be interpreted in that function, but here the verb en 'be' has been dropped and the conjugation marker is the only trace left of the verb. As we said, this type of VP only occurs in the present progressive tense: all other tenses and aspects must be expressed by a clause with the verb en in the predicate. When the predicate is a progressive particle, the existential clause denotes the present location of the subject, and the predicate contains a locative PP as complement. Since the locative PP is necessarily the last element of the clause, the location is always the main focus of this clause type. The structure is thus:

subject + progressive particle + PPloc

1. Kodu yaa ga kaan. 'Kodu is at home.'

Kodu PROG at house

S Pred PPloc

2. Kedik-kaa kaa ga ěgír-aa. 'The tree is in the wilderness.'

tree-DEF PROG in wilderness-DEF

S Pred PPloc

As mentioned when describing this VP, there is a specific negative particle, gaa, which is used only in non-verbal existential clauses. This negative existential particle must be followed by a PP, just as the progressive particle in the affirmative existential clause. The PP complement may contain the preposition ga only (ex. 4), or it may be complex, with a NP (ex. 3):

3. Kodu gaa ga kaan. 'Kodu isn't in the house.'

Kodu NEG.EXIST at house

S Pred PPloc

If the subject is negative, for example a negative pronoun like ken 'nobody', the predicate normally uses a verb in a negated form. Parallely, the negative existential particle is used in these situations:

4. Ken gaa ga. 'Nobody is there.'

nobody NEG.EXIST PART

S Pred PPloc

8.1.2.2. Existential clauses with a verbal predicate.

The verbs that are used in existential clauses are en 'be' and laak 'have'. However, although they both appear in this type of clause, their syntactic functions differ in certain respects, as well as their semantic functions.

Existential en 'be'

The verb en in the existential clause can appear in two functions:

- to locate the subject, normally in place, but also in time. In denoting the location, it functions in complementary distribution with the non-verbal existential clause. When the tense/aspect is other than present progressive, the verb en has to be used. Thus, the structure is the same, but the VP contains the verb en instead of the progressive particle:

subject + en + PP_{loc}

1. Kodu en-ee ga kaan. 'Kodu was at home.'

Kodu be-PAST at house

2. Kedik-kaa daanee ki-'en ga ëgír-aa. 'The tree used to be in the wilderness.'

tre-DEF used(AUX) INF-be in wilderness-DEF

When specifying the subject in time, the temporal complement may be a PP or a temporal adverb, but the verb is always en, even in the present tense. Here, the verb en signifies 'take place, happen'.

subject + en + PP_{temp}/temporal adverb

3. Iña-a-ma en-ee wútúwaa. 'This happened yesterday.'

P.I-REF be-PAST yesterday

4. Ki-lín hareen en-i ga lah-aa. 'Cultivation of peanuts takes place in the rainy season.'

INF-cultivate peanuts be-HAB at rainy.season-DEF

- to introduce a person or an object (see also 10.2.1.1.). In this case, there is an inversion in the clause of the subject and the predicate, giving the structure:

predicate en + subject

This type of clause is very often used in the very beginning of narration to introduce main participants. The fact that the subject is new information and actually in focus in the clause, makes it difficult to let it occur clause initially as the theme. By inverting the clause elements, the subject is marked for focus (see also 10.4.2.).

5. En-ee Baal na Mbuuñ. 'There was Hyena and Hare.'

be-PAST B with Mb

6. En-ee ðo' na naanam-ci. 'There was a woman and her co-wife.'

be-PAST person with co-wife-REL(3sg)

Existential laak 'have'

The verb laak has several meanings of which 'have' is the most common. It functions as a transitive verb in this sense as well as when expressing notions such as 'possess', 'receive', 'come upon', 'get'. However, it can also be intransitive, with the meaning of 'exist', 'occur', 'happen', and as such it occurs in the existential clause. The structure of the existential clause with laak is either that of a normal intransitive clause, or the elements can be inverted, just as with the verb en:

subject + laak

laak + subject

The difference between these two structures is found in the function of the subject; if it is in focus or not. If the subject is introduced for the first time in the discourse it will follow the verb, for the same reason as when the subject follows the verb en, i.e. to have a presentational focus:

7. Laak-in bo' bi-yewin. 'There are many people.'
exist-PERF people ATTR-be.abundant

8. Laak-ka 6aa ka' ki-heel-nee sookooñ.
exist-NARR P.REL go INF-fetch-DIST firewood
'There was someone who went to fetch firewood.'

9. Laak-ee maalu, jën na sople. 'There was rice, fish and onion.'
exist-PAST rice fish with onion

The semantic difference between the verbs en and laak in this introductory function lies in the duration or permanence of the described existence. If the subject is presented as a time-stable, very generally, just referring to its actual existence as a person or an object, the verb en is used. Normally, it is humans (or personified animals) that are introduced in this type of clause (see ex. 5, 6). However, if the subject is introduced as a non-time -stable, as a temporary entity, existing in a specific situation where either the situation will change, or the subject will cease to exist (e.g. food), it is laak which is the verb of the clause.

If the subject is not introduced for the first time, but is known information, it occurs in its normal, initial position, and the focus is put on the verb, i.e. the fact that the subject exists, as in the examples:

10. Maalu laak-in. 'There is rice.' (implied: 'you don't need to buy any')
rice exist-PERF

11. Du malk-at ga paamay: Paamay' wēñ ki-laak.

we.INCL look-OPT at maize maize COMP INF-exist

'Let us look at maize: Maize is more occurring./There is more maize.'

8.1.3. Equative clauses

Equative clauses resemble transitive clauses in that they have a subject NP and a complement NP. However, this complement NP differs from object NPs in that it cannot be replaced by an object pronoun. It is, as the label says, equative with the subject. As the existential clause, the equative clause can be structured in two ways: with a non-verbal predicate or with a verbal predicate with the copulative verb en:

NP + progressive particle + NP

NP + en + NP

These two types occur to some extent in a temporal complementary distribution - the non-verbal type only in the present progressive tense - but in some cases there is a contrast that seems to be semantically based:

- If the complement NP denotes inalienable characteristics of a person such as nationality or ethnic group, sex, age group, family relationship or species for animals and plants etc., the non-verbal predicate is used. These seem to be characteristics that are very closely related to the individual, and normally involuntarily achieved. Thus, they are truly equative with the subject, and sometimes they are themselves the notional subject, if the grammatical subject is an indefinite pronoun.

- If, on the other hand, the complement NP describes an alienable characteristic: an achieved or chosen attribute of the subject, such as profession, sometimes religion, temporary attributes, the copula en is used.

Now, a third aspect comes into the system: if one of the equative clauses that take the non-verbal predicate occurs in another tense or aspect than the present progressive, or

in a negated form, the copula has to be used. Actually, this is in accordance with the rules described above that decide which type of predicate to choose. The non-verbal predicate can only occur when the complement is truly part of the identity of the subject. If this is presented in an aspect that describes something else than the immediate present, it is no longer as closely connected to the subject, and not totally equative.

8.1.3.1. Equative clauses with a non-verbal predicate

When the predicate of the equative clause is non-verbal, it consists of the progressive particle. The subject is always either an allocutive pronoun or an indefinite pronoun, either iñii/iñum/iñaa [-animate] or bi̯i/bum/baa [+animate]. The complement must be a NP with a noun. It is possible to have a subject NP with a noun which then occurs clause initially. Then, however, the subject must always be repeated by a pronoun. This structure resembles that of a subject in thematic fronting (see 10.4.1.). The structure of the non-verbal equative clause can thus be described as follows:

(subject NP(noun) +) pronoun + progressive particle + NP(noun)

If the pronoun is in the 3rd person, it is always represented by an indefinite pronoun, although the person is known (as in example 3). The indefinite pronoun is marked as [+animate] and is therefore very close to a substitutive pronoun 'he/she', but the substitutive pronoun cannot occur as subject in this type of clause. This subject can be seen as what Quirk calls the grammatical subject of the clause, in contrast with the notional subject which is the complement NP (QUIRK 1980:956). However, if there is a fronted subject NP, this expresses the notional subject.

1. *lñii yii kaan fi-'as.*

'This is a new house.'

P.I PROG house ATTR-new

2. 'Bii yii beti Decu. 'This is Decu's wife.'

P.I PROG woman Decu

3. Kodu, bii yii beti. 'Kodu is a woman.'

Kodu P.I PROG woman

4. Tedik-taa taa, iĩcaa caa húul. 'The trees there, they are palm-trees.'

trees-DEF DEM P.I PROG palm-tree

If the pronoun is in a 1st or 2nd person (i.e. an allocutive pronoun), this is the notional subject, even if it may also be preceded by a fronted subject NP

5. Mi yii eew Hërf. 'I am Hërf's mother.'

I PROG mother Hërf

6. Buw-ii bii, du bii noon. 'The people here, we are Noon.'

people-DEF DEM we.INCL PROG Noon

A remark has to be made concerning the progressive particle preceded by a pronoun: It is very common for these two elements to fuse into a compound element, where the progressive particle is perceived only as a lengthening of the vowel in the pronoun.

mi yii → mii

yi yii → yii

ya yaa → yaa

ba baa → baa

etc.

Exceptions are where the vowels are of different quality, such as in the pronouns du 'we.INCL' or du 'you(pl)', as in du ɓii or du ɓii. As for the pronoun fu 'you(sg)', it may sometimes fuse with the progressive particle and take its vowel:

fu yii → fii

8.1.3.2. Equative clauses with the copular verb en

As we saw above, the copula en 'be' is used on two occasions:

- when an equative clause with a non-verbal predicate occurs in any other tense or aspect than the present progressive, or in negation
- when the complement expresses an alienable characteristic that may have been achieved or chosen, such as profession, temporary feature or sometimes religion

When the predicate is a copular verb, the restrictions on the subjects that operate in non-verbal predicates do not apply. In the following examples, the copula replaces the progressive particle where this cannot occur:

1. Kodu, ɓii yii ɓeti Decu. 'Kodu is Decu's wife.'

Kodu P.I PROG

is expressed by the copula in past tense:

2. Kodu en-ee ɓeti Decu. 'Kodu was Decu's wife.'

Kodu be-PAST woman Decu

3. Kuli, iɲii yii oomaa. 'Kuli is a child.'

Kuli, P.I PROG child

occurs with the copula in the negative perfective aspect²:

²Note that the negative of the repetitive derivation signifies the notion of 'no longer' (see 5.2.10)

4. Kuli en-is-sii oomaa. 'Kuli is no longer a child.'

Kuli be-REP-ASP.NEG child

In the following examples, the complement NP expresses chosen, achieved or more temporary characteristics:

5. Mi en jëgíroh. 'I am a teacher.'

I be teacher

6. Wati, Papis en noon. 'Today, Papis is a Noon.'³

today Papis be noon

8.1.4. The presentative clause

The presentative clause, like the existential and equative clauses, has a non-verbal VP, but in this type of clause it cannot be replaced by a verb. The presentative clause is used to express the notion 'here is/are' or the French 'voici/voilà', which could obviously also be expressed by an existential clause with the locative complement dii 'here'. However, the presentative clause has a structure different from that of the existential one:

presentative clause: NP + PRES (adjunct)

1. 'Beti-fii fi-mo'-ta-fii fee-ma. 'Here is the beautiful woman (that we talked about).'

woman-DEF ATTR-be.beautiful-INTENS-DEF PRES-REF

2. Kaan-fii mi dëk-oh da fee. 'Here is the house where I live.'

house-DEF I live-DUR REL.M PRES

³That is, he is not normally one, but today he dresses or behaves like one.

An optional locative adjunct is possible, but it does not have the same function as in an existential clause where it indicates the locative complement. Compare the two examples:

3. Kodu, yi yii ga túuy-ii. 'Kodu is in the hut.'

Kodu s/he PROG in hut-DEF

4. Kodu yee, ga túuy-ii. 'Here is Kodu/Kodu is here, in the hut.'

Kodu PRES in hut-DEF

8.2. Dependent clauses

The clauses described above all function as main clauses, either in simple sentences or in complex co-ordinate sentences. In addition, there are clauses that function as an embedded element of a main clause, namely the relative clause and the subordinate clause.

8.2.1. The relative clause

The relative clause functions in the NP as a postmodifying determiner of the noun. (For the position of the relative clause in the NP, see 3.2.) The basic structure of the relative clause is primarily determined by the function of the head noun/pronoun in the relative clause. This same basic structure is used for restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses. However, the structure of the relative clause may be affected by the position in the NP where it occurs, but also, the structure of the restrictive relative clauses depends on its position in relation to the matrix clause. Finally, there is the use of a specific expression with the verb wëe 'be sure' that occurs in a different kind of relative clause structure.

8.2.1.1. The basic relative clause structure

The basic structure for the relative clause is as follows:

- the relative clause is introduced by the head noun or relative pronoun
- the verb of the relative clause is in a form unmarked for aspect (i.e. the simple unmarked form with its corresponding negative form -oo, or with the past tense suffix -ee /neg: -éeríi).
- The relative marker dá occurs finally in the relative clause

8.2.1.1.1. The head noun in the relative clause

The head noun determined by a relative clause may function as subject, as complement, as indirect object in a PP, or with an adverbial function (in a NP or a PP). When the head noun functions as a subject or complement in the main clause, it may be either the subject or the object of the relative clause. If occurring in an adverbial function, the NP also has an adverbial function in the relative clause. The following table shows the possible orders of constituents in the relative clause, according to the function of the head noun:

- in the matrix clause
- in the relative clause

In this chart the initials represent the words: Adverbial, Complement, Object, Subject, Verb.

	main clause			
	A	S	V	O
relative clauses:	A S V (C)	S V (C)	S V (C)	A S V (C)
		C S V	C S V	

Note that the head NP in the relative clause always occurs in clause initial position regardless of its syntactic function (as in English). This gives the relative clause a different word order than what is found in main clauses, but similar to the order of elements in clauses with fronted NPs (see 10.4.1.).

A noun determined by a relative clause always occurs in a definite form even in cases where the noun is unknown and would be referred to as indefinite without the relative clause. Here, it is the relative clause itself that defines the noun. Thus, in Noon it is impossible to say: 'A dog that bit him..'. Here, the dog is defined by its action and must carry the definite suffix.

Here are examples of head nouns in different functions; in the main clause and in the relative clause:

head noun as subject in main clause, subject in relative clause:

1. Baay-faa dow-ee-ri da kaan-in. 'The dog that bit him is dead.'
dog-DEF bite-PAST-OBJ(3sg) REL.M die-PERF

head noun as subject in main clause, object in relative clause:

2. Enoh-faa mi lom-ee da d'ukool-in. 'The cow that I bought is ill.'
cow-DEF I buy-PAST REL.M be.ill-PERF

head noun as object in main clause, subject in relative clause:

3. Cuunoh jom-in kitikdu (> ki-tik-id-u) sagac-caa yah ki-hay-u loy-aa da.
lunch should(AUX)-PERF INF-cook-BEN-PASS guests-DEF will(AUX) INF-come-PLUR
funeral-DEF REL.M

'Lunch should be cooked for the guests that will come to the funeral.'

head noun as object in main clause, object in relative clause:

4. Baal dal-la ki-ñam kúum-kaa Mbuuñ haydoh ða.

Hyena start(AUX)-NARR INF-eat honey-DEF Hare bring REL.M

'Hyena started to eat the honey that Hare brought.'

head noun as adverbial in main clause and relative clause:

5. Bes-aa fu hay ða, mi teḅ-paa dekat-aa.

day-DEF you come REL.M I show-OBJ(2sg) place-DEF

'The day you come, I'll show you the place.'

8.2.1.1.2. The relative pronoun in the relative clause

The relative pronouns have been described in 2.4.2.3., but they will be recapitulated here in the context of the clause. It was said that the relative pronoun only needs to occur when the antecedent is distant from the relative clause, or if it is implied or unspecified (unknown to the speaker). Thus, in the following examples, the head noun is immediately preceding the relative clause and the relative pronoun is not necessary. This is also true when the head noun is an allocutive pronoun (as in example 2).

1. 'Beti-caa dëk Padee ða, ḅaa yëek.

women-DEF live Fandène REL.M PROG sing

'The women who live in Fandène, they're singing.'

2. 'Du dëk Padee ða, wo' ga kinoon. 'We who live in Fandène speak Noon.'

we.INCL live Fandène REL.M speak in Noon

As we said, there are three types of relative pronouns:

- agreement relative pronouns, if the antecedent and its class is known
- indefinite relative pronouns, if the antecedent is unknown and specified only as being animate or inanimate
- the adverbial relative pronoun

Agreement relative pronouns function as subject or object of the relative clause:

3. Beti-faa fi-mo'ta faa ham dā, iñii yii beti Decu.

woman-DEF ATTR-beautiful P.REL dance REL.M P.I PROG woman Decu

'The beautiful woman who is dancing, that is Decu's wife.'

4. Mi hot-ta faa⁴ fu lom dā.

'I saw the one that you bought.'

I see-NARR P.REL you buy REL.M

Indefinite relative pronouns also function as subject or object in the relative clause, with the distinction between animate (ḡii/ḡum/ḡaa) and inanimate (iñii/iñum/iñaa):

5. Baa nak-ee miis-maa dā wo' an:

'The one who had ordered the milk said:'

P.REL order-PAST milk-DEF REL.M say COMPL

6. Mi ínoh-oo iñaa wo'u dā.

'I don't know what is being said.'

I know-PRES.NEG P.REL say-PASS REL.M

7. Paj-aa ḡaa fu waa' dā!

'Marry the one you like!'

marry-IMP P.REL you like REL.M

⁴Faa referring to enoh-faa 'the cow'.

8. Yaa-ma déy, mín-oo ki-'am iña ya laak ɗa.

DEM-REF PTC.EMPH can-PRES.NEG INF-hold P.REL s/he have REL.M

'That one, s/he can't keep what he has.'

The adverbial relative pronoun, dii/dum/daa⁵, has a primary locative connotation. In that sense it may function in the main clause as locative complement or as adverbial, and in some cases as subject (example 12 below). However, similarly to other locative pronouns, the relative one has a transferred function as a modal adverbial and, less commonly, as a temporal adverbial, which can be expressed by this same dii/dum/daa. Its function in the relative clause is similar to that in the main clause, but in the relative clause it cannot take a subject function; it only occurs where it has a function as a locative complement (examples 9 and 10), or as an adverbial in the relative clause (ex. 11, 12). There is a difference in the structure, if dii/dum/daa refers to a locative, modal or temporal adverbial:

- Referring to a locative adverbial, the relative pronoun will only replace a noun or a whole NP in the adverbial. So if the locative adverbial consists of a PP with the preposition ga and a NP, daa will only replace the NP, and the preposition can be left preceding the relative pronoun (ex. 11). Another possibility is for the verb to be made locative by the derivational suffix -oh (see 5.2.6.3.), which turns the locative adverbial into a locative NP object (ex. 9). This construction is only possible for locative adverbials that have to be referred to by a pronoun, as in the relative clause, or by a NP, which is the case when an adverbial is marked for focus in a topicalised position clause initially (see 10.4.2.3.).

⁵This is one single pronoun, marked for different positions; near speaker, near addressee, distant. As with most pronouns with this distinction, the distant form, daa, is the most general one since the others are used basically where the situation is in the present and in the immediate vicinity of the speaker.

Locative function

- locative complement in main and relative clause:

9. Du kar-at daa mi en-oh da. 'Let us go to where I am (stay).'

we(INCL) go-OPT P.REL I be-LOC REL.M

- adverbial function in main clause, locative complement in relative clause:

10. Daa mi dök da ken laak-oo oto. 'Where I live, no one has a car.'

P.REL I live REL.M nobody have-PRES.NEG car

- adverbial functions in main and relative clauses:

11. Ba hídoh-ha ga daa ba tag-oh⁶-ee ga sal waas-caa da.

they meet-NARR at P.REL they leave-REC-PAST at crossing roads-DEF REL.M

'They met where the had left at the road-crossing.'

- subject function in main clause, adverbial function in relative clause

12. Daa mi dök da mor-in.

P.REL I live REL.M be.beautiful-PERF

'It is beautiful where I live./The place where I live is beautiful.'

- Referring to a modal or temporal adverbial, the relative pronoun occurs alone, representing the whole adverbial (adverb, PP, clause). The reason why it is here possible for daa to replace other than NPs could be explained by the fact that the pronoun is here used in a more metaphoric sense, since its primary function is locative, and in that transferred function it is reflecting an implied general noun such as 'the way/manner' or 'the time'. These are nouns that can normally summarise the whole modal or temporal adverbial.

⁶Note that the -oh in this verb is not locative, but reciprocal.

Modal function

- adverbial function in main and relative clause:

13. Ya waa'-ta ki-mey'ee ya al-in daa ya jek ki-wo' da.

he want(AUX)-NARR INF-exit but he forget-PERF P.REL he should(AUX) INF-say REL.M

'He wanted to get out but he had forgotten how he should say.'

14. Daa mi tum-ee bi mi laak miis gayndi da, tuut pe'-caa-goo leeh!

P.REL I do-PAST until I have milk lion REL.M almost goats-DEF-POSS(1sg) finish

'The way I did to get lion-milk, my goats almost finished.'

Temporal function

The temporal usage of daa is very close to that of the temporal conjunction waa (see 7.1.2.), and the only semantic difference between these two can be seen in the kind of nuances in the following examples:

15. Daa mi ka'-ta, 6a dal-la ki-ñam. 'The time I left, they started to eat.'

P.REL I leave-NARR they start-NARR INF-eat

16. Waa mi ka'-ta, 6a dal-la ki-ñam. 'When I left, they started to eat.'

when I leave-NARR they start-NARR INF-eat

The structure of the temporal relative clause differs from the general model of the relative clause, described in 8.2.1.1. As seen in example 15 above, the verb appears in a marked form (narrative) and the relative particle da is absent. These differences could be explained by the fact that this is probably not a relative clause at all, but a temporal subordinate clause which uses the relative pronoun daa in analogy with the relative clauses with other adverbial functions. (For the use of the conjunction waa (see 9.2.4.3.1.2.).

8.2.1.2. Relative clauses with different structures

In 8.2.1.1., we stated that the structure of the relative clause can be affected by the position in the NP, and that the position in relation to the main clause has an impact on the restrictive relative clause. We also mentioned an expression with the verb wëe that can be used in a specific type of relative clause structure. These three types of relative clauses, that differ from the basic structure, will be described here.

8.2.1.2.1. The relative clause followed by other nominal determiners in the NP:

The first factor that may affect the structure of the relative clause is its position in the NP. As described above (see 3.2.), the relative clause can be followed by certain other determiners in the NP. When these occur, they very commonly replace the relative particle da. This can be explained by the fact that these other determiners fulfil the same function as da in that they mark the end of the relative clause. However, this omission of da is not obligatory although it is common.

1. lñāa ya hot (da) béé̄b ya ñam. 'Everything that he sees, he eats it.'

P.I he see (REL.M) all he eat

2. Maa, mi tum-an na bi mi hot iñii fu hot (da) yii?

say I do-FUT how until I see P.REL you(sg) see (REL.M) DEM

'Say, how should I do in order to see this that you see?'

8.2.1.2.2. Restrictive relative clauses in post-matrix position:

As we said in 8.2.1., restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses follow the same basic pattern described in 8.2.1.1. However, on one occasion the restrictive clause shows a different structure, that is when it occurs following the matrix clause. Here, it takes the features of a main clause: the verb is marked for aspect, and there is no relative particle

present. The only thing that distinguishes it as a relative clause is the fact that its head noun/pronoun also has a syntactic function in the main clause.

1. Mi hot-ta gayndi-faa lím-in. 'I saw a lion⁷ that had given birth.'

I see-NARR lion-DEF give.birth-PERF

2. Ya sēf-fa baam-aa sookooñ-caa baam-aa hatin-oo.

he load-NARR donkey-DEF firewood-DEF donkey-DEF bear-PRES.NEG

'He loaded the donkey with the firewood that the donkey couldn't bear.'

(=so much firewood that the donkey couldn't bear it.)

This structure, however, only applies when the head of the relative clause is a noun.

When there is a relative pronoun, the basic relative clause structure has to be used, even in final position in the main clause, and even if the relative clause is restrictive.

8.2.1.2.3. The expression wēe'taa ga Cii with the relative clause

There is a specific use of the relative clause, different from the ones we have seen above, which occurs with the expression wēe'taa ga Cii. The verb wēe' is one of the stative cognition verbs described in 8.1.1.2. It may take an impersonal subject, which very often is omitted, and an animate object to express the experiencer of the notion. Its meaning is that of 'be sure, be certain', in the impersonal sense, but when an animate object is present the verb can be interpreted as a personal cognition verb with the formal object as the notional subject.

⁷The noun 'lion' is here translated in an indefinite form, although the Noon has a definite suffix attached to it. As explained in 8.2.1.1.1., a noun with a relative clause determiner is always in the definite form. In the story context from which the example is taken, 'the lion' is here introduced for the first time in the story, and should therefore be translated as indefinite in English. In Noon, however, the lion is already defined by the relative clause, and must occur in a definite form.

1. Wëer-in-doo 'This is sure to me./I'm sure of this.'

be.sure-PERF-OBJ(1sg)

The expression wëe'-taa ga Cii, or its variant wëe'-taa ga an Cii, can thus be given the literal translation 'it is certain to you that this..' or 'you can be sure that this..'. Its morphemes are:

wëe'-taa ga (an) Cii⁸

be.sure-OBJ(2sg) of COMPL DEM

In the NP, this expression occurs in the following structure:

noun + wëe'taa ga Cii + relative clause

This structure only occurs with complement nouns, and thus in a post-matrix position. The clause following the expression wëe'taa ga Cii has the structure of a main clause, i.e. it is identical with other restrictive relative clauses in a final position. The demonstrative pronoun Cii in the expression functions as the head of the relative clause, and it is in agreement with the antecedent with its initial consonant functioning as an agreement marker. At the same time, since it always has the form -ii, it clearly has a cataphoric function in referring to the following clause, thereby connecting the noun to it. Thus, the meaning of wëe'taa ga Cii in the NP could be rendered as 'of which you can be sure of the following:...' or 'such a NOUN that...'.⁸

2. Ya ka'-ta ga ɓaa wëe'-taa ga yii mín-di kihëwri' (>ki-hëwí'-id) kedik.

she go-NARR to P.I be.sure-OBJ(2sg) of DEM can(AUX)-OBJ(3sg) INF-prepare-BEN
medicine

'She went to such a person who could prepare medicine for her.'

⁸As before, the C- represents the agreement marker, determined by the noun class, number and size of the head noun.

3. Mi wo'-aa kayoh kaahay wëe'-taa ga cii mi wo'-aa ca-n-aa, fu hay-yoo ki-'iis.

I say-OBJ(2sg) truths three be.sure-OBJ(2sg) of DEM I say-I.OBJ(2sg) OBJ(C1pl)-N-SUB
you(sg) will(AUX)-OBJ(1sg) INF-let.go

'I tell you three truths that are such that if I tell them to you, you will surely let me go.'

8.2.2. The subordinate clause

The subordinate clause may function as complement or adverbial in the complex sentence, and it is linked to the main clause either via juxtaposition or by a subordinate conjunction. The different structures and semantic functions of different subordinate clauses will be described separately in the section on subordination (see 9.2.4.), but looking at the common features of the subordinate clause, we can make a few general observations:

8.2.2.1. The structure of the subordinate clause

The structure of the elements of the subordinate clause is similar to that of the main clause. However, there is a structural difference that is seen between two kinds of semantically distinct subordination: realis and irrealis. In a realis clause, the subordination is visible only in the presence of the subordinate conjunction, while in irrealis subordination, there is a specific irrealis subordinator, the suffix -aa, that marks the clause for this function.

Realis subordination:

1. Mi ñam ndaga mi yaaw-in. 'I eat because I am hungry.'

I eat because I be.hungry-PERF

Irrealis subordination:

2. Binaa mi yaaw-aa, mi ñam. 'If I am hungry, I eat.'

if I be.hungry-SUB I eat

This irrealis subordinator suffix -aa can co-occur with a subordinate conjunction, as in example 2 with the conditional binaa 'if', or it may appear alone, implying a general irrealis subordination, which can be interpreted as conditional or temporal:

3. Mi yaaw-aa, mi hay. 'When/If I am hungry, I'll come.'

I be.hungry-SUB I come

A further remark can be made as to the use of this irrealis subordinator: When occurring before the main clause, the subordinator -aa is suffixed to the subordinate clause, and if there is a subordinate conjunction, this always appears before the subordinate clause, sentence initially. However, when occurring to the right of the matrix clause, the irrealis subordinator -aa is generally omitted. Consequently, the post-matrix subordinate clause must be preceded by another conjunction in order for it to be marked as irrealis subordination. Thus, when the subordinator -aa occurs as the only subordination marker, the subordinate clause always precedes the main clause. This gives us the following structural possibilities for irrealis subordinate clauses to occur:

a) (subordinate conjunction +) subordinate clause + -aa + main clause

b) main clause + subordinate conjunction + subordinate clause

4. Fu hay-aa, du ñam. 'When you come, we will eat.'

you(sg) come-SUB we.INCL eat

5. Dí bii sek bi fu hay. 'We're waiting until you come.'

we.EXCL PROG wait until you(sg) come

8.2.2.2. Verb form within the subordinate clause

As in the relative clause, the form of the verb in the subordinate clause is subject to certain restrictions. The rôle of subordination is the most prominent function of the subordinate clause, and the verb receives its tense/aspect in relation to the verb of the main clause. Generally, this means that if the event/state in the subordinate clause is simultaneous with that of the main clause, the verb in the subordinate clause appears in its unmarked simple form (the root/stem form of the verb), even if the verb is stative and normally, in main clauses, would appear in the perfective aspect in a present tense:

1. Fu yaaw-aa, fu ñam. 'If you are hungry, you eat.'

you(sg) be.hungry-SUB you(sg) eat

If the subordination denotes an action/state preceding the one of the main clause, the narrative or , as here, the past tense simple form is used (with the suffix -ee), although the tense from the speaker's point of reference would be pluperfective.

2. Mi ínoh-ee an fu hay dii ki-koor-aa, mi koor-oo dii.'

I know-PAST COMPL you will(AUX) here INF-pass-SUB I pass-PRES.NEG here

'If I had known that you would pass this way, I wouldn't pass this way.'

The subject of the clause is normally a simple noun, but in some cases it can also be expressed by a non-finite clause NP. As we have seen, a verb in its infinitive form may act as a NP, where the infinitive marker ki- functions as a noun class marker of class 4 (k-) such as in:

- | | | | |
|---------------|-------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 4. lín | 'cultivate' | Ba lín hareen. | 'They cultivate peanuts.' |
| | | they cultivate peanuts | |
| 5. ki-lín-kaa | 'the cultivation' | Ki-lín-kaa mesk-in. | 'The cultivation is hard.' |
| | | INF-cultivate-DEF be.hard-PERF | |

However, the infinitive may in this position keep its verbal function and take its own object and possible adverbials, but still function as the subject. This type of clausal subject only occurs where the predicate of the matrix clause is intransitive (meskin in ex. 6), or where it contains the verb en in existential or equative clauses (as in the existential use in ex. 7).

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 6. Ki-lín hareen mesk-in. | 'To cultivate peanuts is hard.' |
| INF-cultivate peanuts be.hard-PERF | |

- | |
|---|
| 7. Ki-lín hareen en-i na lah. |
| INF-cultivate peanuts be-HAB at rainy.season |
| 'Cultivation of peanuts takes place during the rainy season.' |

8.3.2. The predicate

The predicate is an obligatory element of the clause. It is always a VP which, as we have seen, may be verbal or non-verbal, intransitive or transitive. In a transitive VP, the complement can be in the form of a NP, a PP or a clause, according to the type of VP that functions as the predicate (see chapter 6).

8.3.3. The adverbial

As we said in the beginning of chapter 8, the adverbial is the periphery of the clause, and as such it has an adjunctival function. The adverbial gives additional information on what is expressed in the core of subject and predicate. It may be formed by an adverb, a PP, or a subordinate clause. The position of the adverbial is either preceding the core of the clause or following it, generally depending on the information focus of the clause (see 10.4.2.3.). However, certain rules may be set up to account for the possible positions of the adverbial.

8.3.3.1. Adverbs

The adverbs in Noon have been divided into temporal, locative and modal adverbs. Of these, the modal adverbs always occur following the clause core:

1. Ya wo' di-dóolí. 'S/he talks loudly/with force.'

s/he talk ADB-strong

In most cases the locative and temporal adverbs may occur either clause initially or finally, according to information focus (see 10.4.2.3.). There are, however, the exceptions of the temporal adverbs that are linked to an affirmative verb or negative verb respectively. These adverbs, namely the affirmative haat 'already', and the negative múk 'never', duum 'not yet', always occur after the verb.

2. Sagec-caa hay-uunun haat. 'The guests have already arrived.'

guests-DEF come-PERF(pl)

3. Mi hay-yii-raa ki-wo' duum. 'I won't tell you yet.'

I will(AUX)-ASP.NEG-OBJ(2sg) INF-tell yet

8.3.3.2. Prepositional phrases

Generally, the same rule applies for the PP as for the adverb: the modal PP, with the preposition fodii 'as, like', appears after the predicate, whereas most temporal and locative PPs occur either following or preceding the clause core. However, a PP with the temporal preposition na cannot occur clause initially.

1. Fu ñam fodii baay. 'You eat like a dog.'

you(sg) eat like dog

2. Mi hot-ta-ri ga waas-aa. / Ga waas-aa, mi hot-ta-ri.

I see-NARR-OBJ(3sg) on road-DEF

'I saw him/her on the road. / On the road (while going there), I saw him.'

3. Ga kím-aa, ba meŋ-ca Dakaa'. / 'Ba meŋ-ca Dakaa' ga kím-aa.

at morning-DEF they leave-NARR Dakar

'In the morning, they left Dakar. / They left Dakar in the morning.'

4. Dí hay na kím. 'We came in the morning.'

we.EXCL come with morning

8.3.3.3. Subordinate clauses

The position of subordinate clauses is very much linked to their function in the clause.

When the subordinate clause functions as backgrounding information, it normally occurs clause initially, whereas, for instance, an intentional subordinate clause has to follow the predicate. (The place and function of subordinate clause is further described in 9.2.4.)

8.3.4. Concord between clause elements

In specific cases, there is concord between the subject and the predicate with respect to number and, on certain occasions, to nominal class affiliation:

- The number concord is present only when the subject is a noun with a [+animate] feature. Here, the verb is marked by a plural suffix.

1. 'Beti-caa hay-u ki-waayuk bílím-aa. 'The women will prepare the "bílím".'
women-DEF will(AUX)-PLUR INF-prepare dance.feast-DEF

- There is also a number concord in the case of reciprocal verbs: If the reciprocal verb is an intransitive verb, and not a phrasal verb followed by a PP complement with the preposition na, the subject has to be plural.

2. 'Du bërí bok. 'It is us that are related.'
we.INCL P.EMPH relate

- The nominal class concord occurs when the predicate contains a progressive or presentative particle, in that the initial consonant of this particle is in agreement with the noun subject (see agreement marker 2.1.2.2.).

3. Enoh-faa faa ga fenoo túuy-aa. 'The cow is behind the hut.'
cow-DEF PROG at behind hut-DEF

4. Enoh-fii fee. 'Here is the cow.'
cow-DEF PRES

9. THE SENTENCE

9.1. The simple sentence

- 9.1.1. Declarative sentences
- 9.1.2. Interrogative sentences
 - 9.1.2.1. Yes-no questions
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9.2. The complex sentence

- 9.2.1. Co-ordination of clauses
 - 9.2.1.1. Co-ordination with ee 'and, but'
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 - 9.2.4.3.3.3. Purposive subordination

The definition of the term 'sentence' is not altogether unambiguous. Our standpoint here is the rather traditional one, comparable to Lyon's definition of a system-sentence as "the maximal unit of grammatical description" (Lyons 1977:624). At the same time,

the sentence is the smallest part of discourse, which may stand alone as an independent utterance, or which may be incorporated into a sequence of utterances.

A sentence may be either simple, or complex, with two or several clauses in the same sentence. Below, the different types of simple sentences will be presented, followed by a description of the complex sentence types.

9.1. The simple sentence

A simple sentence normally consists of one clause, the clause being defined as a unit that may take the elements of predicate, subject and adverbials. However, an utterance may be formed by other units than a full clause, such as the vocative and formulaic utterances. Based on the form and function of the sentence, the following types can be set up for simple sentences:

1. declarative
2. interrogative
3. imperative/optative
4. exclamatory
5. vocative
6. formulaic utterances

9.1.1. Declarative sentences

Any of the independent clauses described in chapter 8 - intransitive, transitive, existential and equative clauses - can function as a declarative sentence.

1. 'Ba neeh-in. 'They are asleep.'

they sleep.PERF

2. 'Beti-faa lom jën. 'The woman buys fish.'

woman-DEF buy fish

3. Ya yaa ga kaan. 'S/he is at home.'

s/he PROG at house

4. Bii yii beti Paati. 'She is Paati's wife.'

P.I PROG woman Paati

As we have seen (8.3.1.), in some cases the predicate is the only obligatory element of the clause:

5. Kar-in. 'S/he has left.'

leave-PERF

However, in certain situations it is possible for another elements of the clause to form an utterance. This element is a sentence fragment which alone represents the whole clause. This type of elliptic sentence, where only one part is explicit and other ones are implicit, normally occurs as an answer where the implied information is provided in the question:

6. Fu kar-ee gada? 'Where did you go?'

you(sg) go-PAST where

7. Padee. (= Mi kar-ee Padee.) 'Fandène. (= I went to Fandène.)'

Fandène (I go-PAST Fandène)

8. Bii hay dii ki-yuŋ ɓa? 'Who is going to sit here?'

P.I will(AUX) here INF-sit who

9. Yiiya (= Yiiya hay dii ki-yuŋ.) 'Mother. (= Mother is going to sit here.)'

mother (mother will(AUX) here INF-sit)

9.1.2. Interrogative sentences

The interrogative mood includes four different kinds of modifications that involve morphological or syntactic changes in the sentence. In addition, intonational changes are occurring in some of these, but these are not dealt with in this section (see 1.2.2. for intonation patterns). The interrogative modifications are:

- yes-no questions
- alternative 'or'-questions
- the question-word questions (q-word questions, also labelled wh-questions)
- questions with the particle maa

9.1.2.1. Yes-no questions

A yes-no or polar question poses the whole clause into interrogation, and asks for the information if the clause is true or false. The structure of the yes-no question is a clause followed by the polar-question particle -e. The particle always occurs suffixed to the last element of the clause, *irrespective of the syntactic function of that element*:

clause + -e

1. Neeh-in-e? 'Is s/he asleep?'
sleep-PERF-PQ
2. Ba lëgëy ga Dakaar-e? 'Do they work in Dakar?'
they work in Dakar-PQ
3. Fu saawal-in na ha'-kaanfee (<kaan-faa-n-e)?
you(sg) speak-PERF with chief-house-DEF-N¹-PQ
'Have you spoken to the head of the family?'

¹For the nasal insertion that occurs with this suffix, see 1.3.3.

If the element to which the question particle is suffixed is vowel-final, there is very often a morphophonological change taking place between the vowel and the particle, although it is not obligatory. What happens is that the particle -e replaces a final short vowel, while a final long vowel blends with the particle and changes to -ee

-VV + -e → -ee

-V + -e → -e

If this morphophonological change is not taking place, the question particle is linked to the preceding noun by an epenthetic nasal (see 1.3.3.). Thus, the following forms are possible:

4. $\beta\text{eti} + -e \rightarrow \beta\text{eti-n-e} / \beta\text{et-e}$ 'a woman?'
 woman + PQ

5. $\text{waas-aa} + -e \rightarrow \text{waas-aa-n-e} / \text{waas-ee}$ 'the road?'
 road-DEF-PQ

This question modification may also occur in elliptic sentences, where only a part of the clause appears in the sentence and the rest of the clause is implicit:

6. $\text{Kaan-faa f\acute{u}u-n-e}$ 'That house over there?'
 house-DEF DEM-N-PQ

7. Mi-n-e 'Me?'
 I-N-PQ

9.1.2.2. Alternative 'or'-questions

The alternative question resembles the yes-no question in that the whole sentence is scoped by the interrogation, and this fact is reflected by the presence of the question particle -e which occurs sentence finally here as well. In addition, the alternative

conjunction, the clitic -oo, occurs in the question, either between two NPs or between two clauses that are co-ordinated by this conjunction. The conjunction is suffixed to the last element of the first of the two NPs or clauses that are opposed for choice in the question. Thus, the structures of the alternative question are:

clause{...NP + -oo + NP...} + -e

clause + -oo + clause + -e

1. Fu waa' ki-ñam jën-oo koynoh-e? 'Do you want to eat fish or meat?'

you(sg) want(AUX) INF-eat fish-or meat-PQ

2. Du lëgëy-oo du ñikaruk-e? 'Shall we work or rest?'

we.INCL work-or we.INCL rest-PQ

9.1.2.3. Question-word questions

A q-word question always contains a question word, i.e. one of the interrogative pronouns:

ya 'what', ba 'who', gada 'where' (see 2.4.2.5.)

or one of the interrogative determiners:

wiida 'which' cera 'how many' (see 2.3.4.)

or one of the interrogative adverbs:

kera 'when', na 'how' (4.2.5.)

The q-word questions ask for information about that element only which is replaced by the question word. The position of the q-word is in situ of the element it replaces, except when replacing a subject. As explained earlier (see 2.4.2.5.), when the subject is the element of interrogation, the position of the subject is filled by a projection, an indefinite pronoun, and the interrogative pronoun occurs sentence finally. However, in some cases there are restrictions as to the distance by which the q-word may be

removed from its antecedent. If the q-word is distanced from its antecedent by a subordinate clause functioning as a complement in the sentence, especially if the complement clause is lengthy, the q-word normally precedes the subordinate clause, and does not occur sentence finally. On the other hand, if the q-word refers to a subject element in a relative clause, the q-word is distanced from its antecedent by this relative clause. In the following examples, the q-word functions as:

subject:

- | | | | | |
|----|-----|----|-----|----------------|
| | S | V | S | |
| 1. | Bii | en | ba? | 'Who is this?' |
| | P.I | be | who | |

object:

- | | | | | |
|----|---------|-----|------|--------------------|
| | S | V | O | |
| 2. | Dú | wo' | ya? | 'What do you say?' |
| | you(pl) | say | what | |

adverbial:

- | | | | | |
|----|---------|-----|-----|------------------------|
| | S | V | Adv | |
| 3. | Fu | tum | na? | 'How are you (doing)?' |
| | you(sg) | do | how | |

object, with its correlate as subject in a relative clause:

- | | | | | |
|----|----|---------------|-----|--|
| | S | V | O | |
| | | | S | REL.CLAUSE S |
| 4. | Mi | ínoh-oo | ĩña | laak da ya. 'I don't know what happens.' |
| | I | know-PRES.NEG | P.I | happen REL.M what |

subject, preceding a complement clause:

	S	V	S	Complement
5.	Bii	wo ¹ -ee	fa	an fu jom-oo ki-lom-nee maalu?
	P.I	say-PAST	who	COMPL you should-PRES.NEG INF-buy-DIST rice
	'Who said that you shouldn't go and buy rice?'			

It happens quite regularly that the question particle e, which has a distinctive function in the yes-no questions, also occurs in q-word questions, especially when the q-words fa 'who' and na 'how' occur clause finally. Although both these q-words have a short final vowel, the output is a long final -ee (cf 9.1.2.1.). The presence of this particle is never obligatory in these questions, but it seems to function as a reinforcement of the interrogative nature of the clause. Thus, the following q-word questions are often realised as in the examples:

6. Fu tum na? = Fu tum nee (<na + -e)? 'How are you?/How do you do?'
you(sg) do how

7. Mi taab-an na fa? = Mi taaban na bee (<fa + -e)? 'With whom shall I go?'
I follow-FUT with who

The q-phrase 'why'

The notion 'why', which is represented by a question word in English, is expressed periphrastically by the verb tah 'cause' in the fixed expression:

8. iñii tah ya 'why?' (lit: what causes)
P.I cause what

This expression may occur alone as a question referring to something implied, but when the question is made explicit, it appears in a structure that reminds us of the volitional verbs, such as waa (< waad) 'want' and saj 'refuse', which may take a whole clause as their complement (see 6.2.2.4.):

9. Mi waa' fu hay. 'I want you to come.'
I want you come

10. lñii tah ya fu waa' ki-hay? 'Why do you want to come?'
P.I cause what you want INF-come (lit: What causes you to want to come?)

In its semantic function, tah is clearly volitional, which is why it seems reasonable to group this construction with the volitional verbs. Note that the q-word ya precedes the complement, rather than occurring clause finally which is its normal position when referring to the subject of the clause. This is explained by the fact that, as we said, the q-word is not normally distanced from its antecedent by a subordinate clause. However, as we said above, where there is a relative clause, the q-word will follow it, thus separated from its antecedent. Such an inclusion may occur in the q-phrase 'why' as well. In example 11 below, the same message is delivered as in example 10, but with the indefinite pronoun lñii, which here functions as a relative pronoun, followed by a relative clause:

11. lñii tah bi fu waa' ki-hay ḏa ya? 'Why do you want to come?'
P.I cause until you want INF-come REL.M what
(lit: 'What is the thing that causes you to want to come?')

9.1.2.4. Questions with the particle maa

The particle maa (see 7.2.5.) has earlier been described as a question introducer which serves to make the question more polite, to prepare the addressee for it. The particle occurs sentence initially, in direct speech, in any type of question or in a vocative which precedes a question:

1. Maa fu dök dii-n-e? 'Say, do you live here?'

PTC.Q you(sg) live here-N-PQ

2. Maa fu tum-ee ya? 'Say, what did you do?'

PTC.Q you(sg) do-PAST what

3. Maa yiy-óo? 'Say, mother?'

PTC.Q mother-VOC

9.1.3. Imperative/optative sentences

The third sentence type is the imperative/optative mood which may modify simple sentences. As we said in 5.3.4., these two actually form one category with two moods in complementary distribution: the 2nd person singular and plural occur in the imperative only, and the 1st and 3rd person singular and plural in the optative. However, there are clausal differences between the two moods, as will be described here.

9.1.3.1. The imperative

When the sentence contains the imperative, its structure differs from the normal clause pattern in that

- the subject must be omitted.
- the verb must appear in the imperative mood

When the verb is in the imperative, and the subject is omitted, this automatically signals an implicit 2nd person (sg/pl) subject. As described in verbal morphology (see 5.3.4.1.), the imperative mood on the verb is formed either by the singular imperative suffix -aa, when the implied subject is 2nd singular, or by the plural imperative suffix -at, when the subject is 2nd plural:

1. Aas-aa ga túuy-aa! 'Enter(sg) the hut!'

enter-IMP in hut-DEF

2. Bayl-aa-roo! 'Forgive(sg) me!'

forgive-IMP-OBJ(1sg)

3. Tíid-at na jam! 'Go(pl) in peace!'

go-IMP(pl) with peace

4. Lomdattíi (< lom-id-at-ríi) paamay' ga teer-aa. 'Buy(pl) maize for us in town.'

buy-BEN-IMP(pl)-OBJ(1pl.EXCL) maize at town-DEF

The prohibitive is formed by the particle kaa which precedes the verb. In the singular imperative, the suffix -aa is omitted in the prohibitive:

5. Kaa fiip! 'Don't(sg) cry!'

PROH cry

6. Kaa yug-at ga kakay! 'Don't(pl) sit on the ground!'

PROH sit-OPT on ground

9.1.3.2. The optative

The optative expresses the wish of the speaker, just as in the imperative. However, when directed towards a 1st or 3rd person, the wish cannot be expressed as a

command, but as an exhortation concerning the 1st person, or the speaker's opinion on a 1st or 3rd person's acting, although this wish may not in reality affect the intended subject. Thus, the optative only reflects the speaker's point of view in that it expresses his/her wish for an action to be performed, by him/her or by someone else. The structure of the optative sentence is similar to the declarative sentence type in that the subject is overt and followed by the predicate. However, the 3rd person subject may not be omitted, as is the case in the normal clause pattern. The predicate in the optative is marked by the optative suffix -at on the finite verb. The negation differs from other moods in that it requires a specific auxiliary hanat which only occurs in this function and form.

1. Mi pok-at-ti ga kedik-kaa-n-e? 'Should I tie it to the tree?' (i.e. 'Do you want me to..')

I tie-OPT-OBJ(3sg) at tree-DEF-N-PQ

2. Du toon-at alaak-caa! 'Let us sell the beans!'

we(INCL) sell-OPT beans-DEF

3. Ya ap-at-taa! 'May he kill you!'

he kill-OPT-OBJ(1sg)

4. Ken hanat kiwo' an:... 'May nobody say this:...'

nobody OPT.NEG INF-say COMPL

9.1.3.3. Imperative/optative with the particle laa

A different way of modifying sentences for exhortation is by the particle laa. The particle laa is comparable to the question introducer maa in that they both function to prepare the addressee for the change of mood and at the same time make the question/

exhortation more polite. A more polite form of exhortation could be labelled 'suggestive'. The particle laa can modify sentences that are already marked for imperative or optative. But it can also modify a simple declarative sentence in the indicative mode, which makes the sentence a very mild exhortation, but it still indicates that the sentence expresses the speaker's wish. In all cases, the particle laa introduces a main clause (also in complex sentences). In the following examples, laa modifies: the imperative:

1. Laa gërēm-aa-ri! 'You should thank him.'

SUGG thank-IMP-OBJ(3sg)

the optative:

2. Laa paa-pu taab-aat-at fuwaa, fa fay-aat lempu.

SUGG father-REL(2sg) follow-REP-OPT people they pay-REP taxes

'May your father pursue the people again, that they may repay their taxes.'

the indicative:

3. Laa fa hay kaan! 'It would be good if they'd come home!'

SUGG they come home

4. Waa fu hay ki-heel beti, laa fu nam-boo ki-pañ.

when you(sg) come(AUX) INF-search wife SUGG you(sg) should-OBJ(1sg) INF-marry

'When you come to look for a wife, (I think) you should marry me.'

9.1.4. Exclamatory sentences

Exclamations can either be expressed by a declarative sentence or by interjections that either function purely to express emotions, or to chase away animals or children (see 7.3.)

In an exclamation expressed by a declarative sentences, emphatic particles (see 7.2.4.) are often present in the structure of the simple clause. However, the emphatic particle may be absent and the exclamatory feature expressed by intonation only (see 1.2.2.). The clause may have explicit subject and object, or it may contain a stative verb with an implicit subject:

1. Enoh-faa yak-in de! 'The cow is really big!/ What a big cow!'
cow-DEF be.big-PERF PTC.EMPH

2. New-in! 'Wonderful/Good!'
be.good-PERF

3. Soos-in kay! 'It's cold!'
be.cold-PERF PTC.EMPH

Exclamatory interjections are for example:

- 4. Aa'! expressing surprise
- 5. Aca! chasing away children or bigger animals

9.1.5. The vocative

The vocative is a simple sentence which consists of a single NP. It may occur as an independent utterance, or preceding another sentence, the function of the vocative being to draw the addressee's attention to the speaker and his/her message. The vocative NP contains a proper noun or another kind of noun used for address. This noun may bear the vocative suffix -óó, especially when functioning as a mere call to the addressee, without a following message. However, the vocative suffix is not obligatory, and it is rare when followed immediately by a clause with the message to the addressee.

The vocative suffix never co-occurs with the 1sg possessive suffix (-goo), a fact which could be explained by the phonetic similarity between the two suffixes.

1. Yiiyóo! Yiiyóo! (<yiiya + -óo) 'Mother! Mother!'
 mother-VOC

2. Mbok-cii-n-óo! 'Brothers and sisters!'
 relatives-DEF-N-VOC (lit: 'family members')

3. Húnísmun-cii-goo! 'My friends!'
 friends-DEF-POSS(1sg)

4. Yiiya! Mi heel-in-daa. Fu tum-ee ya?
 mother I search-PERF-OBJ(2sg) you(sg) do-PAST what
 Mother! I have been looking for you. What did you do?'

9.1.6. Formulaic utterances

The last group of sentence types are utterances which are fixed expressions or words that are used uninflected in certain situations. Although some of these formulae may resemble other sentence types, their use is restricted to a specific expression and function. These utterances may be:

- aphoristic, such as proverbs
- communicative, such as greetings or reaction signals

9.1.6.1. Aphoristic sentences (proverbs)

Aphoristic sentences, found in many proverbs, have a formulaic structure consisting of the minimum number of words possible. Normally, all the nouns appear in a generic,

undefined form. This entails that the message may be extremely contracted and the element take a much wider sense than they would in a normal statement. In the following proverb, the object is a colour adjective which does not refer to any noun since it does not carry an attributive prefix. It represents any noun with the characteristic of the adjective, but the form has to be uninflected in order to function in this type of sentence:

1. Hulay lím-oo yaanaaw. 'A blackbird does not give birth to anything white.'

blackbird give.birth-PRES.NEG white

The next proverb is structured as a comparative clause with the verb gěñ 'be better than', and there are two NPs, both with nominalised verbs as their heads, functioning as subject and as comparative NPs. The subject, kisewiñ tuhas consists of the nominalised verb ki-sewiñ 'smallness' followed by the noun 'eyes' tuhas giving the sense of 'smallness of eyes'. The comparison is to the nominalised stative verb kibúum 'blindness'.

2. Ki-sewiñ tuhas wěri gěñ ki-búum. 'Smallness of eyes is better than blindness.'²

INF-be.small eyes P.EMPH be.more(AUX) INF-be.blind

This way of using nominalised verbs where the verbs themselves could be used, is uncommon in normal speech in Noon. However, to express the same idea in verbs would mean a much longer phrase. Thus, the structure of the sentence is not common, but it presents the minimum number of words that are needed to express the message.

²i.e. 'It is better to see a little than to be blind.'

9.1.6.2. Communicative formulaic sentences

Communicative sentences always involve a dialogue or some kind of communication.

Quite often, they have a phatic function, promoting social contact rather than expressing information exchange. The first type expresses a reaction to a previous utterance, either as an answer or as a comment. These reaction signals include words such as:

- | | |
|-------------|---|
| 1. ee | 'yes' |
| 2. ó'óo | 'no' |
| 3. ahaaŋkay | 'yes' (answering a negative question) |
| 4. yóow | 'yes, here' (answering a call of somebody's name) |
| 5. aaw | answer to all greetings |

A second type of communicative sentence is described by Quirk as including "greetings and other formulae used for stereotyped communicative situations. Most of these are either grammatically irregular, or grammatically defective, in the sense that only in a very limited way can they be grammatically analysed" (QUIRK et al: 1980). Examples:

- | | |
|-------------|-----------------------------|
| 6. uuna | 'here you are' ³ |
| 7. wēltaat | 'good morning' |
| 8. hooŋkaat | 'good day' |
| 9. hēewraat | 'good evening' |

The greetings, in examples 7-9, can in some cases be broken down into a verb root:

Hooŋ 'make night', when followed by the reflexive suffix -uk, has a meaning of 'spend the day' or 'stay for lunch', which occurs in example 8 for 'good day'. The same verb can possibly be the root in example 9, hēewíŋ (<hēewr-), but here with a different derivational suffix - the transitivising suffix -íŋ⁴. The suffix -aat that occurs in all the

³Used when offering something to somebody. The root uun is not found anywhere else, so far, that would explain its origin.

⁴The suffix -íŋ triggers vowel harmony in the root, changing the -oo- to a [+ATR] óo which is often centralised to ëe (see 1.3.7.).

greetings, also exists as a verbal repetitive suffix, from the Wolof -at (see 5.2.9). It is presumable that the suffix -aat in the greetings has a different origin than the repetitive suffix, and that this suffix only occurs in these types of constructions. In view of the specific structure of these verb forms, they should be seen as formulae, functioning only in the stereotyped setting of greetings.

9.2. The complex sentence

The complex sentence is defined as consisting of more than one clause. The different clauses in the sentence may either be co-ordinated and of the same status, or one clause may be subordinate to another clause. In addition, there are the specific cases of serial and reduplicative sentences. Serial sentences are co-ordinate in the sense that all clauses have equal status. However, the clauses in a serial sentence are not independent clauses that could stand alone, and will therefore be treated as a separate type of complex sentence. The reduplicative sentence resembles the serial type, but it differs in structure and its semantic function is durative rather than sequential. Finally, the relative clauses also function within another clause, but since they function within the NP and have been dealt with in that context, they will not be treated in this section.

9.2.1. Co-ordination of clauses

Two, or more, independent clauses may be co-ordinated into one complex sentence by means of the co-ordinative conjunctions: ee 'and, but' (conjunctive), -oo 'or' and wala 'or' (disjunctive). The clauses that are conjoined by these conjunctions are independent by the definition that:

- they may stand alone as simple sentences
- the form of the verb in the predicate reflects the tense/aspect from the point of utterance, not from the point of the verb form of the other clause

- the order of the co-ordinated clauses is interchangeable.

The semantic relationship between the clauses in the co-ordination is dependent on the conjunction that links the clauses.

9.2.1.1. Co-ordination with ee 'and, but'

The co-ordination with the conjunction ee denotes a simple equivalent relation between the clauses, in that the messages in the two clauses are semantically related. The conjunction could be omitted, and the message would be the same. Depending on the semantic function of the second clause, the conjunction can be interpreted as additive 'and' or adversive 'but'. If the second clause is an expected sequence that is in line with the first clause, the relation is additive. If the second clause represents a contrast, something unexpected, unplanned or disappointing, the relation is adversive:

1. Mi heel-la hëelís-aa (ee) mi laak-ka wa. 'I searched for the money (and) I found it.'

I search-NARR money-DEF and I find-NARR OBJ(C1sg)

2. Mi heel-la-ri (ee) mi hot-tii ken. 'I searched for him, (but) I saw nobody.'

I search-NARR-OBJ(3sg) but I see-ASP.NEG nobody

3. Ya dëk Kusun (ee) ee-ci dëk Kusun.

he live Kusun and mother-REL(3sg) live Kusun

'He lives in Kusun (and) his mother lives in Kusun.'

4. Waar-in to6 (ee) waa'-tii soos. 'He likes rain, (but) he doesn't like cold weather.'

want-PERF rain but want-ASP.NEG cold

The order of the clauses is interchangeable, unless the addition involves a real-world sequence in time, as in the first two examples.

9.2.1.2. Co-ordination with -oo and wala 'or'

Clauses can be conjoined in an alternative relation, either by the conjunction -oo 'or', which is suffixed to the final element of the first clause, or by wala 'or' (< Wolof). There is a difference in usage between the two in that -oo can only conjoin two independent clauses, whereas wala can link several clauses in a single sentence. The order within the sentence of clauses linked by these conjunctions is interchangeable. If the clauses have certain clause elements in common, there may be an ellipsis of these elements, as in the second example below:

1. Fu hay-oo-n-oo fu hay-e? 'Are you coming or not?'

you(sg) come-PRES.NEG-N-or come-PQ

2. 'Ba lëgëy ga yoon-aa wala (fa lëgëy) ga kaan.

they work at field-DEF or they work at home

'They work in the field or (they work) at home.'

3. Du tes dii wala du soof kaan wala du yah mees-e.

we.INCL stay here or we return home or we go mass-PQ

'Are we going to stay here, or go home, or go to the mass?'

9.2.2. Serial sentences

A serial sentence consists of several clauses that are in juxtaposition, and it is used to express an immediate sequence of events. The verbs in the clauses in a serial sentence have to appear either in the unmarked root form, or in the narrative form. The unmarked form is used when referring to present or immediate future actions, or as a historic present in narrative sequences. The clauses in a serial sentence only include the core of

the clause (subject, verb, complement), and the subject is omitted if possible, i.e. if it is in the 3rd person and co-referential with the subject of the previous clause. As a conclusion, we can state that the clauses forming the serial sentence are as syntactically brief and concise as possible, in order to underline the immediacy and close sequential relation between the actions. The following examples are both narrative, but in the second case it is the historic present that is used.

1. Baam-aa hay-ya, dúukool-la, kaan-da. 'The donkey came, fell ill and died.'

donkey-DEF come-NARR fall.ill-NARR die-NARR

2. Mi hay-s-is, mi deey'-s-uk, gayndi-faa ñam.⁵

I come-REP-REP I approach-REP-REFL lion-DEF eat

'I return, I approach once again and the lion eats.'

The clauses in the serial sentence are of equal status, and there is concord between the different predicates in that the verbs must appear in the same form (unmarked or narrative) in all clauses. In many cases, these clauses have the structure of an independent clause. However, the structure differs from the independent clause when the verb is in the unmarked form, appearing clause finally. As will be explained further in the section on focus (see 10.4.2.4.), a verb in clause final position in an independent clause is in focus, and as such it does not appear in its unmarked form. In a serial sentence this is possible, even obligatory, if the verb is intransitive and referring to a present or immediate future action, as in the example:

3. Mi yah, mi hay-is. 'I'll go and come back.' (=I'll be back in a second.)

I go I come-REP

⁵In another version of the story, this section is told in the narrative form.

8. Aas-aa túuy-aa, fu heel basañ, fu hay-is.

enter-IMP hut-DEF you fetch straw.mat you come-REP

'Go into the hut, get a straw mat and come back!'

9.2.3. Reduplicative clauses

The reduplicative device is also used in the VP, where the reduplication of the finite verb is realised by the infinitive form of the verb (see 6.5.), followed by the conjunction bi 'until', either to link it to a temporal adverb, or simply to mark the end of a durative action. The function of reduplication is to express intensity, repetition and duration of the action. A very similar device is used at clause level. Here, the whole clause is repeated a number of times, and the reduplication is closed by the same conjunction bi. Normally, in these reduplicative sentences, there are no optional clause elements present, but only the core is stated and then repeated. However, the verb occurs without restriction on its tense/aspect, and the clauses can thus be said to be co-ordinate but independent. The effect is the same as when a VP is reduplicated: an increase in duration, sometimes in intensity, in correlation to the number of repetitions.

1. Ya yaa tñin, ya yaa tñin, ya yaa tñin bi.

{he PROG walk} x3 until

'He walks and walks and walks for a long time.'

2. Mi aam-ba, mi aamba, mi aamba, mi aamba bi.

{I pour-NARR}x4 until

'I poured and poured for a long time.'

9.2.4. Subordination of clauses

In subordination, one clause is downgraded to function as a part of another clause. The relation between the clauses is not equal, but one is dependent on the other. The subordinate clause may appear in different rôles in the main clause, and in different situations and structures it may function as subject, complement or adverbial. The predicate of the subordinate clause is either finite or non-finite, depending on its function and context, and it is linked to the main clause either by juxtaposition or by a subordinate conjunction. Juxtaposition is used whenever the predicate is non-finite, but also when linking a finite complement to a volitional verb. All other finite subordinate clauses are linked by a conjunction to the main clause.

The subordinate clause has a structure that is different and more restricted than that of the main clause, with respect to the verb form of its predicate (see 8.2.2.). If the verb is non-finite it is clearly dependent on the finite verb of the main clause in order to form a full sentence. If the verb is finite, it is either unmarked for aspect, or it is marked in relation to the main clause and not from the point of the utterance. This means that in narration, for instance, a subordinate clause denoting a punctual action previous to the narrative verb of the main clause is not marked as pluperfective, which would be its relation to the time of utterance, but as narrative.

9.2.4.1. The subordinate clause as subject

As stated when looking at the subject as clause element (see 8.3.1.), the subject may be formed by a nominalised verb in its non-finite form:

1. ki-kaan-kaa 'the dying, death'

INF-die-DEF

However, this nominalised verb can also take a verbal function in that it may be followed by complement and adverbial, in what can be described as a contracted clause. In this

construction the infinitive verb functions both as subject, in the matrix clause, and verb in the contracted, subordinate clause. This type of contracted clause is the only type of subordination that may occur in the subject function in a matrix clause.

2. Ki-wo' ga kinoon mesk-in. 'To speak in Noon is difficult.'

INF-speak in Noon be.difficult-PERF

3. Ki-heel músú ga ne'-aa bít-in. 'To fetch water at the well is heavy.'

INF-fetch water at well-DEF be.heavy-PERF

9.2.4.2. The subordinate clause as complement

In certain cases, the complement of a main clause may consist of a whole clause. This has been mentioned in the description of the VP (see 6.2.2.4.), since the complement has been treated here as part of the VP. As a summary, we can distinguish three different cases where the complement could be interpreted as a clause.

- First, the VP with an auxiliary can be interpreted as the auxiliary taking a clause complement. This type of clause is identical with the non-finite clause that occurs as subject. The verb is non-finite, and there is no subject, other than that of the main clause which is shared by both verbs in the predicate. However, because of the specific nature of auxiliaries, the semantic weight of the non-finite verb, and the fact that a complement in such a clause is always the complement of the non-finite verb and not of the auxiliary, it is often clearer to analyse the non-finite verb as the head verb of the main clause.

1. Mi teel-in ki-hay Padee. 'I came to Fandène early.'

I be.early(AUX)-PERF INF-come Fandène

- Secondly, when the verb of the main clause is volitional it may take a clause complement which may be either non-finite or finite: If the subjects of the main clause and the complement clause are co-referential, the complement clause is non-finite, and the predicate takes the form of a VP with an auxiliary expansion:

2. Mi waa' ki-hay. 'I want to come.'

I want(AUX) INF-come

However, if the subject of the complement clause is different from that of the main clause, the complement clause is finite, and the new subject is stated. This subordinate clause is linked to the main clause by juxtaposition:

3. Mi waa' fu hay. 'I want you to come.'

I want(AUX) you come

This finite subordinate clause has its verb in the simple, unmarked form. Any tense/aspect is marked on the verb of the main clause only:

4. Mi waar-éerfi fu hay. 'I didn't want you to come.'

I want(AUX)-PAST.NEG you come

- Finally, if the verb of the main clause expresses cognition ('know') or utterance ('say'), it may take a clause complement. This clause is always finite, and it is normally linked to the main clause by the complementiser an.

5. Ya wo'-ee-ri an jom-oo daa ki-maañ.

he say-PAST-OBJ(3sg) COMPL should-PRES.NEG there INF-linger

'He told him that he shouldn't linger there.'

6. Mi ínoh-ee an fu hay dii ki-koo'. 'I knew that you would come this way.'

I know-PAST COMPL you will here INF-pass

This construction is primarily used for direct and indirect speech, and for cognitive acts, the thoughts being perceived as speeches of the mind. However, all other kinds of physical perception, such as 'see', 'hear', 'feel' etc., have a different structure. Sentences such as: 'I saw the man come' are not expressed by a complement clause as above, but by a restrictive relative clause:

7. Mi hot-in yáal-aa yaa hay. 'I saw the man who was coming.'

I see-PERF man-DEF PROG come

or by a nominalised verb in a genitive construction:

8. Mi hot-in ki-hay-kaa yáal-aa. 'I saw the man's arrival.'

I see-PERF INF-come-DEF man-DEF

The clause complement with an utterance/cognition verb will be further described in the section on speech (see 10.6.).

9.2.4.3. The subordinate clause as adverbial

When the adverbial function is expressed by a clause, this occurs in the same position as other adverbials; i.e. in clause final or initial position. There are certain restrictions, which will be expanded on for each separate type of subordination, as to where specific subordinate clauses may occur. Similarly to other adverbials, the subordinate clauses can be grouped semantically into temporal and modal adverbials. Locative adverbials, however, are never expressed by a subordinate clause but only by locative NPs and PPs. Clauses in adverbial position are finite and linked to the main clause by a conjunction,

with the exception of one kind of purposive clause which is non-finite and juxtaposed to the main clause. We shall here present the different types of subordinate clauses that can function as adverbials, their structure and semantic function. These clauses are:

- temporal
- conditional
- counterfactual
- concessive
- causal
- purposive

These subordinate clauses can be categorised into realis and irrealis, since the certitude of the action has an influence on the structure of the dependent clause. A clause is realis if the action/state expressed by its verb is certain to have or not to have taken place. The irrealis, on the other hand, expresses an uncertainty about the verb in that the action/state has not yet occurred, or that it is hypothetical, as in the counterfactual. The non-temporal subordinations above, can all be labelled as either realis or irrealis, whereas among the temporal subordinations both types can be found; past temporal subordinations are normally realis while future clauses are irrealis. Since the temporal subordination contains a variety of combinations and possibilities (simultaneous, after, before, until etc.), and since this group is divided in itself between realis and irrealis, it will be dealt with separately, apart from the non-temporal subordinations. The different subordinate clauses can thus be categorised as follows:

	REALIS	IRREALIS
TEMPORAL	past temporal	future temporal
NON-TEMPORAL	concessive causal	conditional counterfactual purposive

9.2.4.3.1. Temporal subordination

Temporal subordination may either describe a realised factual event, in the past, or it may refer to an unfulfilled but possible action. The irrealis use is applicable for clauses with future reference. The temporal relationship between the main and subordinate clause may be of different natures; the subordinate clause may express an action/state which is simultaneous, preceding or following that of the main clause. In addition, the preceding and following temporal relationships may be either of a punctual or a durative nature. Here, we will start by presenting the simple future and past subordination, which are not marked by a temporally differentiating conjunction. The simple future subordination is always simultaneous to the main clause, whereas the simple past subordination may be either simultaneous or preceding, depending on the verb form rather than on the use of conjunction. The simple temporal subordinations will be followed by the cases where the subordinate action is in a non-simultaneous relationship to that of the main clause, marked by a temporally differentiating conjunction or verbal expression.

9.2.4.3.1.1. Simple future subordination

The future temporal subordination denotes an action/event which is not yet realised, but which may possibly occur. Normally, this subordination precedes the main clause, although the reverse order is possible. The subordinate clause is not marked by a conjunction but by the following features:

- the irrealis subordinator -aa⁶
- the verb appearing in its present unmarked form

When the irrealis temporal subordination is present, the verb of the main clause commonly uses the simple present tense to express a future action, since the future irrealis state of the sentence is already marked in the subordination.

⁶The subordinator -aa is described in 7.1.2., where its position is also stated as clause-final.

1. Cuunoh leeh-aa, mi hay. 'When lunch is finished, I'll come.'

lunch finish-SUB I come

2. Ya pook hareen-caa-n-aa, ya út ca.

she crack peanuts-DEF-N-SUB she roast OBJ(C1pl)

'When she has cracked the peanuts, she will roast them.'

In both these examples, the verbs of the subordinate clause would have taken a perfective aspect in a main clause. Here, that nuance is lost and can only be deduced from the semantic context. It is obvious that the dependent, subordinative status of the clause overrides its own proper status as a separate clause and the aspect of its head verb.

The future temporal is very close to the conditional subordination, and sometimes a conditional sense is expressed by this structure, as in:

3. Du híd-oh-at kuwis, neß Kooh-aa. 'May we meet tomorrow, if it pleases God.'

we.INCL meet-REC-OPT tomorrow be.pleasant God-SUB

9.2.4.3.1.2. Past subordination

A clause which denotes an action in the past, simultaneous to or preceding that of the main clause, is a realis clause, and therefore, it does not carry the subordinator -aa. The mark of the past temporal subordination is the conjunction waa 'when (PAST)' which occurs in initial position of the subordinate clause. Unlike the future subordination, the verb of the past subordination is not restricted to an unmarked form. On the contrary, the verb of the subordinate clause can take any verbal tense/aspect, but the choice of verb form is governed by the verb in the main clause. The verb in the main clause

functions as the starting point, and the verb of the subordination is given its tense/aspect in relation to that main verb.

When the verb of the subordination expresses an action simultaneous to that of the main clause, the present unmarked form is used, which shows that here the main clause represents the temporal reference-point for the subordination:

1. Waa mi hay kaan-dúu, mi laak-kii ken. 'When I came to your house, I found nobody.'
when I come house-REL(2pl) I find-ASP.NEG nobody

2. Mi hot-ee-ra-ri, waa mi ka' Dakaa'. 'I saw him when I went to Dakar.'
I see-PAST-PUNCT-OBJ(3sg) when I leave.for Dakar

If the subordination describes an action that precedes the one in the main clause, and which is completed at the point where the next action begins, the verb may take the narrative aspect:

3. Waa mi hay-ya, mi tik-ka cuunoh. 'When I had come, I cooked lunch.'
when I come-NARR I cook-NARR lunch

If both verbs in these clauses had had the same point of departure, the former action would have been expressed in a pluperfective tense. However, the verb hay 'come' in the subordinate clause is expressed from the temporal reference-point of verb of the main clause, tík 'cook'. Since the action of 'come' was accomplished before the action of 'cook' started, it is expressed by the narrative as well.

The past and perfective forms -ee and -in, are used to express subordinations with actions preceding those of the main clause, but actions that are less punctual than those in the narrative. The past only indicates that the action had started before the following

one, but not that it has been accomplished. The perfective does not specify the beginning of the action but it states that the action has been accomplished very recently before the following action, and that the effects of it are still relevant for the present time frame of the main clause. Sometimes, there is a causal element in the subordination, especially with these two tenses/aspects, past and perfective, since they normally give a durative description, a setting for the coming action, rather than a sequence of events:

4. Waa mi kar-ee Dakaa', mi hot-tii-ri. 'Since I had left for Dakar, I didn't see him.'
when/since I leave.for-PAST Dakar I see-ASP.NEG-OBJ(3sg)

5. Waa ya pook-in hareen-caa, ya mín ca ki-út.⁷
when/once she crack-PERF peanuts-DEF she can(AUX) OBJ(C1.pl) INF-roast
'When/Once she has cracked the peanuts, she can roast them.'

9.2.4.3.1.3. Temporally differentiating subordination

When the subordination expresses an event/state which is non-simultaneous with that of the main clause, it is marked by one of the two conjunctions:

balaa	'before'
bi	'until'

The subordination with balaa 'before' has a more punctual force in that the action/state it conveys is separated in time from that of the main clause. Clauses with bi 'until', on the other hand, mark a process with a defined point of completion, and, at some stage,

⁷The perfective form of the temporal subordination can be interpreted as a future past. However, the action in the subordination is still realis from the point of view of the main clause and will therefore, here as well, appear without the irrealis subordinator.

the action of the subordination may be (partially) simultaneous with that of the main clause.

1. Balaa fu ka' Caañaak-aa, fu jom ki-ne'-nee. 'Before you go to Thiès, you
before you go Thiès-SUB you should INF-well-DIR should go and fetch water.'

2. Ñam-aa bi fu kap. 'Eat until you're satisfied!'
eat-IMP until you be.satisfied

Subordination with balaa 'before'

The clause with balaa may be used either with a past or future tense. However, this subordination is always seen as irrealis, since even in the past tense, the action has not yet taken place, from the view of the main clause. Thus, the subordinate clause will bear the subordinator suffix -aa. However, since the subordinate clause may precede or follow the main clause, when following it will lose the irrealis subordinator -aa. The form of the verb is the simple unmarked, and a past tense will be marked in the main clause only.

3. Balaa mi le' kaad-aa, mi híd-oh-ha na húnísmun.
before I arrive house-SUB I meet-REC-NARR with friend
'Before I arrived home, I met with a friend.'

4. Mi teeḅ-paa balaa fu ka'. 'I will show you before you leave.'
I show-OBJ(2sg) before you leave

Subordination with bi 'until'

The conjunction bi is used both in future and past tense clauses. In future irrealis clauses it will take the subordinator -aa, which will disappear in sentence final position. The

irrealis subordinator will not appear in past tense clauses. Bi conveys the temporal notion of 'until' and most commonly it will be preceded by the main clause, as in:

5. Tíid-aa bi fu hot boh-aa. 'Walk until you see the baobab!'
walk-IMP until you see baobab-DEF

6. Mi heel-la bi mi laak-ka músú. 'I searched until I found water.'
I search-NARR until I have-NARR water

It is quite common for bi to occur in an embedded subordination, within another subordinate clause, as in the example 7:

7. Fu ñam bi fu kap-aa, fu hay. 'When you have eaten enough, you come.'
you(sg) eat until you be.full-SUB you come

In some cases, the use of bi approaches that of balaa 'before', in the sense of denoting the time span between now and 'until' a certain action. In this function, the subordinate clause precedes the main clause, as in:

8. Bi fu yah-aa, du ñam.
until you go-SUB we eat
'We will eat before you go./Sometime from now until you go, we will eat.'

In other cases, the use of bi also carries an intentional or resultative effect on the subordination. The intentional feature can be seen when referring to a present or future action where the action is still just intentional, and has not yet been realised (ex. 9). Referring to a past action, this can be seen as resultative (ex. 10):

9. Mi waa' fu tum-i'-too yen bi iña mi meekis yaal-loo béé6, ya ee'-too.

I want(AUX) you make-BEN-OBJ(1sg) something until P.REL I ask husband-REL(1sg) all
he give-OBJ(1sg)

'I want you to make me something so that everything I ask my husband he'll give me.'

10. Fu tum-ee na bi fu laak-ka miis gayind-e?

you do-PAST how until you get-NARR milk lion-PQ

'How did you do in order to get lion's milk?'

When this time conjunction is transferred to a non-temporal sense, such as intentional or resultative, the translation 'in order to' can substitute for the temporal sense 'until'. Thus, it may sometimes be hard to distinguish between a purely temporal use of the conjunction, and a more causal one.

9.2.4.3.2. Non-temporal realis subordination

Of the non-temporal subordinations, the concessive and the causal are the types that express a realis state.

9.2.4.3.2.1. Concessive subordination

This type of subordination is not marked by a single conjunction, but by the conjunction luu 'although', often followed by a kind of existential clause with the verb en, where the concession itself is the complement, following the complementiser an. The subordinate clause thus has the following structure:

Luu en an + complement clause

which could be rendered as 'although it is the case that:...'

The verb en may be in the present or past tenses, in the simple unmarked form or with the suffix -ee, depending on the tense of the verb in the main clause. The tense/aspect relation between the action in the concession and the main clause is shown on the verb of the complement clause in the subordination (here the verb pook 'crack'):

1. Luu en an ya pook-in hareen-caa, ya mín-oo ca ki-út tóoh.

although be COMPL she crack-PERF peanuts-DEF s/he can(AUX)-PRES.NEG OBJ(C1.pl)
INF-roast all

'Although she has cracked them (the peanuts), she can't roast them all.'

2. Luu en-ee an ya pook-in ca, ya mín-dii ca ki-út.

although be-PAST COMPL she crack-PERF OBJ(C1.pl) s/he can(AUX)-ASP.NEG
OBJ(C1.pl) INF-roast

'Although she had cracked all the peanuts, she wasn't able to roast them.'

Note that the verb en is in the present tense in the first example, where the finite verb of the main clause is in the present, whereas in the second example the verb of the main clause is a negated narrative, and the head verb of the subordination is marked as past tense.⁸

However, the verb of the complement clause, the concession itself, is the same, since the relation between the concession is the same, regardless of the tense of the main clause verb. In both examples, the concession is perfective, i.e. the action was completed immediately before the action of the main clause, and with its effects still relevant.

⁸Note that past tense is often used to mark background information in opposition to the narrative aspect, and here the subordination is in itself signaling backgrounding (see also 10.5.1.).

9.2.4.3.2.2. Causal subordination

Clauses linked by the conjunction ndaga 'because' signal a relationship of cause-effect.

The position of the conjunction is fixed to precede the subordinate clause which expresses the cause. The most common order within the sentence is for the causal clause to follow the main one expressing the effect, but it may also precede it.

1. 'Buwaa waar-uunun-di ndaga ya jof-in. 'People like him because he is good.'
people want-PERF(pl)-OBJ(3sg) because he be.good-PERF

2. Ndaga ken hay-yii dū jom ki-sek. 'Since nobody has come, we ought to wait.'
because nobody come-ASP.NEG we.INCL should(AUX) INF-wait

In its structure, the causal subordination is very close to the co-ordinated clause, but there are factors that distinguish this construction from co-ordination: In a causal subordination with ndaga, it is defined which one of the clauses is marked with the conjunction, and semantically one clause is an expansion, a causal explanation, of the other clause. However, the clausal subordination does not show the same kind of tense/aspect dependency on the main clause as do temporal subordinations, as can be seen in the first example above where the state of the verb is simultaneous with that of the main clause, but the perfective aspect is still marked.

4. Mi teeḅ-paa, binaa fu hay(-aa). 'I will show you, if you come.'

I show-OBJ(2sg) if you come(-SUB)

9.2.4.3.3.2. Counterfactual subordination

The counterfactual is the past equivalence of the conditional, i.e. it expresses an unfulfilled condition and is thus also irrealis in the sense that its action/state is hypothetical. There is no conjunction present in the counterfactual subordination, but it is marked by the following characteristics:

- it bears the irrealis subordinate suffix -aa
- its verb is in the past tense
- the verb of the main clause is in the present tense

1. Mi ínoh-ee an fu hay dii ki-koor-aa, mi koor-oo dii.'

I know-PAST COMPL you will(AUX) here INF-pass-SUB I pass-PRES.NEG here

'If I had known that you would pass this way, I wouldn't have passed this way.'

A very common additional feature is for the counterfactual clause to be in some way repeated by a clause with the verb en 'be' in the past tense and with the irrealis subordinator: eneenaa. This is not obligatory, but is often used to clarify the counterfactual sense by adding a notion that can be translated as 'in that case...':

2. Ya pook-ee hareen-caa-n-aa, en-ee-n-aa ya mín ca ki-út.

s/he crack-PAST peanuts-DEF-N-SUB be-PAST-N-SUB s/he can OBJ(C1pl) INF-roast

'If she had cracked the peanuts, (in that case) she would have been able to roast them.'

The counterfactual clause can occur after the main clause, but this change in order will entail a change in structure. The subordinator suffix disappears (since its position would

be sentence final), and the subordinate clause is structured with the verb en-ee 'be-PAST' and the complementiser an. The unfulfilled condition itself will then follow as the complement of en. In this construction, there are no restrictions on the verb of the main clause, and the verb of the complement clause following enee an will have a tense which specifies its relation to that of the main clause. In the following example, the subordinate clause has a verb in the perfective which indicates that this action must be completed before the one of the main clause:

3. Ya mín-ee-ra ki-út hareen-caa, en-ee an ya pook-in ca.

she can(AUX)-PAST-PUNCT INF-roast peanuts-DEF be-PAST COMPL she crack-PERF
OBJ(C1pl)

'She would have been able to roast the peanuts if she had cracked them.'

9.2.4.3.3.3. Purposive subordination

In order to express a purposive subordination, the following constructions are used in different contexts:

- with a purposive conjunction: doo/doonaa or the complex conjunction en danaa 'so that' (see 7.1.2.)⁹
- juxtaposition of a non-finite clause

All purposive subordination follows the main clause, and since it thus occurs sentence finally, the irrealis subordinator -aa does not appear. However, in doonaa¹⁰ and en danaa it is suffixed to the conjunctions themselves.

⁹Note that doonaa also occurs as adverb (see 4.2.1.1.)

¹⁰This is the less frequent form of doo.

Purposive clauses with a conjunction: doo or en danaa 'in order that'

These two conjunctions are used in much the same way. The complex conjunction (see also 7.1.2.) en danaa consists of the verb en 'be' and the adverb da 'thus', followed by the irrealis subordinator -aa¹¹. It introduces a finite clause which expresses the purpose or intention of the previous, main clause. The finite verb of this purposive clause is in the simple unmarked form, even if the main clause predicate is in the past.

1. Yug-aa dii doo buwaa min-u ki-hot. 'Sit here so that people can see.'

sit-IMP here so.that people can(AUX)-PLUR INF-see

2. Ba nak-ee ki-daydoh tesoh-taa en da-n-aa daa ba yip-oh kaan bee6, ba laak inaa ba sok-an.

they use-PAST INF-bring seeds-DEF be thus-N-SUB P.REL they plant-LOC house all they have P.REL they sow-FUT

'They used to bring seeds so that wherever they built a house, they would have what they could sow.'

3. Di wees-i doo'-caa en da-n-aa di min ki-ap bodaa-n-aa.

we.EXCL throw-HAB sticks-DEF be thus-N-SUB we.EXCL can(AUX) INF-kill hare-N-DEF

'We throw sticks in order to kill the hare.' (recounting a habitual way to hunt)

Purposive clauses with juxtaposition

Juxtaposition as a means to express a purpose is used in a specific case. There are two requisites that would allow the use of this construction:

- the verb of the main clause must be a motion verb
- the subjects of the main and subordinate clauses must be co-referential

¹¹As all suffixes that are vowel-initial, -aa is preceded by an insertive nasal when following a vowel (see 1.3.3.).

The subordinate clause itself is an abbreviated clause which has a non-finite predicate and where the subject is implied, since it is co-referential with that of the preceding main clause. On the surface, these non-finite clauses may seem identical with the infinitive following an auxiliary, especially in the cases of two motion verbs which may also function as auxiliaries to express a future tense;

hay 'come'

yah 'go'

Thus, in the following example, the sentence could reflect either an auxiliary or a purposive construction:

4. Mi hay ki-ñam. 'I will eat.' or 'I come in order to eat.'

I come INF-eat

However, the purposive infinitive is not a complement, as the infinitive following an auxiliary, but a separate clause, which is proved by the following features:

a) The purposive infinitive is preceded by the whole main clause and is thus separated from the finite verb by complements and adverbials:

5. Mi yah Padee kuwis kikaal-s-uk-nee.

I go Fandène tomorrow INF-hunt-INT-REFL-DIST

'I go to Fandène tomorrow to go hunting.'

b) The non-finite subordinate clause may have its own complements and adverbials:

6. Dí koor-in kaan-fu ki-kěñd-oh ño'. 'We passed by your house to greet people.'

we.EXCL pass-PERF house-REL(2sg) INF-greet-DUR people

c) If the subjects of the two clauses differ, the subordinate clause is a finite clause, linked to the main clause by the conjunctions en danaa or doo, as with other purposive clauses:

7. Dí kar-in marsi ki-lom-nee maalu. 'We went to the market to buy rice.'

we.EXCL go-PERF INF-buy-DIST rice

but

8. Dí kar-in marsi doo 6a toon-dii maalu.

we.EXCL go-PERF market so.that they sell-I.OBJ(1pl.EXCL) rice

'We went to the market in order for them to sell us rice.'

d) In the case of the motion verbs yah 'go' and hay 'come', when they function as auxiliaries modifying a head verb for the future tense, they can only occur in forms unmarked for aspect - in the present or past. When these verbs are the head verb of the predicate, however, they may take any aspect, just as any other verb in that position.

9. Mi hay dii ki-ñam. 'I will eat here.'

I will(AUX) here INF-eat

10. Mi hay-in dii ki-ñam. 'I have come here to eat.'

I come-PERF here INF-eat

10. SOME DISCOURSE FEATURES

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10.5. Foregrounding, backgrounding

- 10.5.1. General devices for foregrounding and backgrounding
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10.6. Speech forms

- 10.6.1. With speech verb and the complementiser an
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In this morphosyntactic overview of Noon, only a few discourse features will be treated. These are observations made from a body of texts of different genres, but also from the continued study of the spoken language. The discourse areas dealt with here are some of those that represent general characteristics of the language and which are central to the understanding of its structure.

10.1. Cohesion

Paralleling the cohesion that takes place within the clause/sentence, such as in agreement, co-ordination or subordination that operate to link the different elements within the sentence, there are several ways in which sentences or paragraphs can show cohesion within the discourse. Naturally, the semantic context itself is the major linking force of a text, but there are certain syntactic devices that are used specifically in this function. These devices are the use of:

- the discourse conjunctions¹ kon 'so' (conclusive) and haa 'how about?' (additive)
- the nominal suffix -ma (referential)
- the emphatic pronoun Cëri
- epic repetition

In addition, the cross-referencing function of pronouns also has a cohesive effect within the discourse. However, this function will be dealt with in Participant reference (10.2.) and in Spatial, temporal and textual deixis (10.3.).

10.1.1. Discourse conjunctions

The two discourse conjunctions function to connect different sentences and propositions within the paragraph, or to link a paragraph to a previous one. They both occur sentence initially, referring back to what is immediately preceding.

- Kon 'so' shows conclusive and also, to some extent, causal cohesion. It may refer to a simple sentence, or to a whole paragraph. It is possible for this previous proposition to be implicit:

¹For the definition of "discourse conjunction", see 7.1.3.

1. Noh-ii tam-in. Kon, mi jom ki-soof kaan. 'The sun is hot. So, I should go home.'

sun-DEF be.warm-PERF so I should(AUX) INF-return house

2. Kon, ɗu hídoh-an ga marsi. 'So, we'll meet at the market.'

so we.INCL meet-FUT at market

- Haa 'how about?' introduces a mirror question linked to a previous utterance. The previous utterance makes a statement about a person, and the utterance introduced by haa turns the focus to a second person, usually 2sg, put into a comparison with the first utterance:

3. Mi yáh kaan. Haa fu? 'I'm going home. What about you?'

I go home what.about you

4. Mi teek-u Ndíik. Haa fu? Fu teek-u na?

I name-PASS Ndíik what.about you you name-PASS how

'My name is Ndíik. And you, what's your name.'

10.1.2. The referential suffix -ma

The morpheme -ma is suffixed to nominals with the function of referring back to a previously occurring nominal or to a whole clause. The suffix may also occur with certain adverbs, such as fodii 'in that way', to refer back to a PP or a whole clause. The referent is normally separated from the nominal with the suffix -ma by at least one sentence boundary. Which referent is being referred to can be made explicit by the use of a noun, or indexed by an anaphoric pronoun. In the first example, the same noun with the suffix -ma is used to refer to its previous occurrence:

1. Du lomoh-at tesoh alaak. He'na dū sok alaak-caa-ma-n-aa, Kooh hay-yuu ga ki-'on ciliis.

we.INCL buy-OPT seeds bean maybe we.INCL sow beans-DEF-REF-N-SUB God
will(AUX)-OBJ(1pl) PART INF-give others

'Let us buy seed-beans. Maybe if we sow these beans, God will give us more of them.'

In the following example the indefinite subject pronoun iñaa 'this, something' + -ma refers back to the indefinite object yen 'something' in the previous sentence:

2. An: "Mi hay-ee dii, fu tum-i'-too yen bi iñaa mi meekis yaal-loo béeb, ya e'-too."

COMPL I come-PAST here you make-BEN-OBJ(1sg) something until this I ask man-
REL(1sg) all he give-OBJ(1sg)

An: "iñaa-ma déy atukoh-s-i na miis gayndi."

COMPL P.I-REF PTC.EMPH mix-PASS-HAB² with milk lion

'She said: "I came here in order for you to do something for me so that my husband would give me everything I ask for." The other said: "That very thing has to be mixed with lion milk."

With the use of fodii 'in this way' in example 3, the whole previous sentence is being referred to:

3. Cuunoh jom-in ki-tik-d-u sagac-caa yah ki-hay-u loy-aa da.

lunch should(AUX)-PERF INF-cook-BEN-PASS guests-DEF will(AUX) INF-come-PLUR
funeral-DEF REL.M

²Here, the habitual is used in a more generic sense, which borders on being prescriptive (see 5.3.3.2.4.); the thing she is looking for is always (= has to be) mixed with lion milk.

En fodaa-ma-n-aa, ɓa wo 'a ki-heel koynoh na ki-heel sookooñ.

be in.that.way-REF-N-SUB they say-NARR INF-fetch meat and INF-fetch firewood

'Lunch should be prepared for the guests that were coming to the funeral.

Since this was the case, they sent people to fetch meat and to fetch firewood.'

Finally, in the following sentence, the indefinite pronoun iñaa + -ma refers back to a whole previous clause, while the subject of the clause, iñii is cataphoric, projecting towards an expected utterance.

4. Maa, iñii en halaat-fu ga iñaa-ma ya? 'Say, what is your view on this?'

PTC.Q P.I be thought-REL(2sg) on that-REF what

10.1.3. The emphatic pro-form

As we have seen (2.4.1.4.), emphatic pronouns function to emphasise a noun/pronoun in a clause, and normally it occurs within the same clause as its referent. However, the emphatic pronoun may be separated from its referent by a sentence boundary. This is the case when it is not strictly emphasising a noun but also presenting conclusive or explanatory information about a nominal or a whole clause. This use of the emphatic pronoun can occur referring to a single nominal in a previous clause, with which the emphatic pronoun is in agreement. The referent is always the one closest to the emphatic pronoun. Thus, in the following example, it is the object of the previous clause, Mari ɓgoone Ñjoon, that is referred to by the pronoun yëri³ in the following clause:

1. Mi hot-ta Mari ɓgoone Ñjoon. Yëri en yeekoh yi-yaak.

I see-NARR Marie Ngone Ndione P.EMPH be singer ATTR-big

³y- being the agreement marker for animate nouns (see 2.1.2.2.)

'I saw Marie Ngone Ndione. She is the one who is a big singer.'

However, it is much more common for the emphatic pronoun in this position to function as a general pro-form, referring to a whole previous clause, in which case the pronouns wërí and kërí are used. The difference between these two is not always distinguishable, but as a rule it can be said that wërí refers to a clause where a nominal element is in focus, and kërí where the verbalised action is emphasised. Thus, for example, in the end of a story on the origin of a certain animal or natural phenomenon, we encounter expressions such as:

2. Wërí en pëení. 'That is a monkey.' (That is how the monkey came to be)
P.EMPH be monkey

Here, the emphatic pronoun is not in agreement with the noun for 'monkey' which belongs to the noun class f- (class 2), but it refers back to the whole previous story about a stupid woman who ran away into the woods. The clause with the emphatic pronoun wërí as subject normally has the verb en 'be' as its predicate, and could often be translated by the expression 'that is'.

The use of kërí is closely linked to the causal connective kërí tah 'therefore, that is why' which refers to a response to the question 'why' (implicit or explicit). A reason for a present situation is often to be found in a state or an action rather than in a nominal, which could explain why the pronoun kërí is used. Note that the agreement marker k- is in agreement with the verb when it occurs nominalised and takes the noun class k- (class 4). The pronoun kërí may also occur with other verbs than tah 'cause', e.g. with en, but when doing so it normally refers to a nominal of the k-class and not to a state/action verb.

3. Wútúwaa yíya dúukool-ee-ra. Kërí tah mi hay-yii.
yesterday mother be.sick-PAST-PUNCT P.EMPH cause I come-ASP.NEG

'Yesterday mother was sick. That is why I didn't come.'

10.1.4. Epic repetition

This type of cohesion occurs only in narration and it serves to give the story a certain rhythm, why we have chosen to call the phenomenon 'epic repetition'. It functions so that in a series of actions, the previous action is always repeated in a past temporal subordination, with the conjunction waa, before the new action is mentioned, as in the examples:

1. En-ee laman laak-ka towu ti-yaal taahay.

be-PAST chief have-NARR children ATTR-male three

Waa ya laak-ka towu-taa ti-yaal-taa taahay-taa, ya ínoh-ha an:

when he have-NARR children-DEF ATTR-male-DEF three-DEF he know-NARR this

'There was a man who had three sons. When he had these three sons, he knew this:'

2. Ya le'-'a luuf-aa.

she reach-NARR forest-DEF

Waa ya le'-'a luuf-aa, ya hot-ta gayndi-faa lím-in.

when she reach-NARR forest-DEF she see-NARR lion-DEF give birth-PERF

'She reached the forest. When she had reached the forest, she saw the lioness who had just given birth.'

This past temporal subordination does not give any new information or even additional background information; its only function seems to be to link the actions together. However, this cohesive device in narration does also have a slowing effect on the story. It is used mainly when there is some sort of time lapse between the actions, or when they occur in the backgrounding, introductory part of the story. When there are several closely knitted actions on a row, or when the story speeds up towards a climax, the epic repetition is omitted. This is the case in example 3, where four different actions occur without epic repetition, in a serial sentence (see 9.2.2.):

3. Ya hay-ya, ya beβ-pa ga pe'-caa-gari, deeydoh-ha da, gayndi-faa ñam-ba.
 she come-NARR she take-NARR of goats-DEF-POSS(3sg) approach-NARR there lion-DEF
 eat-NARR

'She came, she took of her goats, approached and the lioness ate.'

10.2. Participant reference

The choice of strategy, morphological or syntactic, which is being used to make reference to a participant in discourse, is decided by its status as new or old information, but also, to some extent, by the rôle of the participant, i.e. if s/he is a primary or secondary character in the text.

10.2.1. Participant introduction and reintroduction

A participant may be perceived as new information either when it is introduced for the first time to the hearer, or when it is reintroduced after a gap. This introduction or reintroduction is always performed by a noun, with or without modification. The general rule is for new information to be presented in the focal element which is often the last element(s) of the clause, and for known information to occur as subject (see 10.4.2.).

However, there are certain devices that are used specifically in connection with the introduction and reintroduction of participants. They are:

- the use of the existential clause (with the verb en 'be'), which introduces a participant
- a substitutive pronoun preceding a noun in reintroduction of participants

10.2.1.1. The existential clause as introductory device

As we saw in 8.1.2.2., the use of the existential clause with the verb en is found in the specific function of introducing the main characters of a story. The participants themselves occur in an indefinite form, i.e. without the definite suffix:

1. En-ee Baal na Mbuñ. 'There were Hyena and Hare.'

be-PAST Hyena with Hare

2. En-ee yaal na beti-ci. 'There was a man and his wife.'

be-PAST man with woman-REL(3sg)

In comparison, secondary (and tertiary) characters, which appear later in the discourse, are not introduced separately in an existential clause, but integrated in the narration, very often with the verb laak 'have, find', as in the example:

3. Waa ya hay-s-is dút-aa, ya laak ku-bo' ji-lohoy.

when s/he come -REP-REP shed-DEF s/he find DIM-man ATTR-short

'When he (main character) came back to the shed, he found (met) a small man.'

But these secondary characters may also be introduced as subjects, accompanied by an identifying modification, in forms of a determiner, a relative clause or a genitive NP:

4. Wati, bu Padee yah ki-típ-u bílím ga Kipoypoy.

today people Fandène will(AUX) INF-play/beat-PLUR dance.feast in Kipoypoy

'Today, the people of Fandène will play the "bílím" in Kipoypoy (part of Fandène).'

5. Doonaa, yaal yi-yaak na beti fi-mo'-ta ek-uk-uunun bi jek-in , baa hay ga gíw-aa.

then man ATTR-big with woman ATTR-be.beautiful-INT dress-REFL-PASS.PERF until
be.pretty-PERF PROG come to circle

'Then, a tall man and beautiful woman, nicely dressed, enter into the circle.'

10.2.1.2. A substitutive pronoun as reintroduitory device

When a participant is reintroduced in a text, after a paragraph with another participant as the main character, this is often done by the use of an anaphoric substitutive pronoun. (Since characters of the narration are personified, both humans and animals are referred to by the animate pronouns ya (3sg) or ba (3pl).) The pronoun is placed before the noun denoting the participant, either a head noun, or an appositive noun, which must occur in a definite form. This type of reintroduction is mainly used for primary characters.

1. Ya jakal-faa kar-is-sa ga Baam. 'He, the lizard, went back to Pig.'
he lizard-DEF go-REP-NARR to pig

2. Ya ka'ta, ya Demba, ga beti-faa. 'He went, he Demba, to the woman.'
he go-NARR he Demba to woman-DEF

10.2.2. Continuous participant reference

As we have seen, there is some difference as to how primary characters and others are entered into a discourse. The same can be said for the continuous reference to

participants throughout a text. Once the main characters are introduced, it is most common for them to be referred to by a pronoun, all through the paragraph, while the secondary characters more commonly appear as nouns. If there is no clear reference to a pronoun, it almost certainly refers to the main character. However, any noun may be referred to by a pronoun, and it is always possible for the referent of the pronoun to be implied and discerned only in light of the context. As stated earlier (see 8.3.1.), a pro-drop is very common for the 3rd person (singular and plural). In that case, the participant reference is present in the verb form. However, the pronoun can only be omitted where co-reference is unambiguous, i.e. when referring to the same participant as the preceding explicit pronoun/noun. After a paragraph break in the text, the characters, primary and secondary, are referred to by a noun (see 10.2.1.2.).

In the following example, the main character (1) is referred to by the pronoun ya throughout the sentence, although a new character (2) is introduced, separating the different occurrences of the main character. In this case, the pronoun referent can also be defined by a same-subject interpretation:

1. Waa ya hay-s-is dút-aa, ya laak ku-fo' ji-lohoy' jii haf-uk ga kop-ii ya haan ki-rooci' da.
 when he(1) come-REP-REP shed-DEF he(1) find DIM-man(2) ATTR-short PROG pour-REFL of palm-wine-DEF he(1) have.just(AUX) INF-harvest REL.M

'When he(1) came back to the shed, he(1) found a small man(2) who was pouring for himself(2) of the palm wine that he(1) had just harvested.'

Sometimes, there may be more than one primary participant. Here, pronouns may be used to refer to both/all of them, and it is the context that decides which one is in question. If the discourse contains speech, the use of the complementiser an always signals a change of acting participant, i.e. speaker (see 10.6.). The following is an extract from a story of an old woman(1) and Hyena(2) who comes to ask for the woman's

goats, one after another. Here, both participants are primary, and often both of them are referred to by the pronoun *ya*, even in the same sentence. Thus, it is the context alone that can account for the referent of each pronoun. In the following paragraph, Hyena comes back to ask for another goat:

2. (Baal) an(2): "Pëk-ís-aa ga pe'-cum fiínoo."

(Hyena) COMPL tie-REV-IMP of goats-DEF one

Ya(1) pëk-ís-sa ga pe'-caa fiínoo, ya(1) bay-ya, ya(2) ñam-ba.

she tie-REV-NARR of goat-DEF one she bring-NARR he eat-NARR

Ya(2) hay-s-aat-is-sa, an(2): Ya'bu, ku-pe'-kaa-goo jada?"

he come-REP-REP-REP-NARR COMPL old.woman DIM-goat-DEF-POSS(1sg) where

An(1): "Man Baal, mi ëld-ee-ra-raa(2) wútúwaa."

COMPL PTC Hyena I repay-PAST-PUNC-OBJ(2sg) yesterday

An(2): "Laak-kii "*Mi ëld-ee-ra-raa wútúwaa*" dara!

COMPL exist-ASP.NEG I repay-PAST-PUNC-OBJ(2sg) yesterday nothing

Er-aa-roo ga pe'-cum."

give-IMP-OBJ(1sg) of goats-DEF

Ya(1) ee'-ta-ri(2) ga pe'-caa.

she give-NARR-OBJ(3sg) of goats-DEF

Ya(2) en-da na ya'bu da.

he be-NARR with old.woman thus

'Hyena said: "Untie one of the goats."

She untied one of the goats, she brought it and he ate it. He came back and said:

"Old woman, where is my little goat?"

She said: "But Hyena, I repaid you yesterday."

He said: "There is no such thing as *'I repaid you yesterday'*! Give me of the goats."

She gave him of the goats. Thus he kept on with the old woman.'

10.3. Spatial, temporal and textual deixis

According to the localist view of, for example, Anderson (1971), spatial expressions are more basic and concrete than temporal ones, of which they are the origin. In addition, so called abstract locations are even more abstract than the temporal location. On this subject, Lyons claims however that:

"the spatialization of time is so obvious and so pervasive a phenomenon in the grammatical and lexical structure of so many of the world's languages that it has been frequently noted, even by scholars who would not think of themselves as subscribing to the hypothesis of localism." (Lyons 1977:718). Earlier, in the chapter on "Deixis, anaphora and the universe of discourse", Lyons states that: *"What does seem clear, however, is that the use of the demonstrative in both temporal and textual deixis, and also in anaphora, is connected with their use in spatial deixis"* (p. 668f). Supposing thus that the spatial expressions are the origin, we can state that this same phenomenon is observed in Noon, that temporal and textual expressions are formed on a spatial basis. Proximity or remoteness in time and in the text itself is expressed in the same manner as proximity and remoteness in space.

Here, we will first recall the spatial distinction in deixis, followed by a description of the anaphoric usages derived from the spatial one. The anaphoric use of spatial deixis also has a bearing for cross-reference between nominals in discourse.

10.3.1. Spatial deixis

As described in the chapter on nominal morphology (2.2.5.2.), there are three suffix forms for a nominal to define its spatial position:

- ii 'close to the speaker'
- um 'close to the addressee'
- aa 'distant to both speaker and addressee'

These spatial definitions are expressed as part of the definite suffix, which is attached to nouns, adjectives and numerals, and of the progressive particle (7.2.1.), while subject substitutive pronouns only have two forms; -i and -a (2.4.1.1.). In addition to this three-fold spatial distinction, the demonstratives have a forth position, -úu denoting 'very distant'. Three of the demonstratives also take a specific form for purely spatial reference, -iiy, -aaŷ and -úuy, in contrast with the forms -ii, -aa and -úu which are used anaphorically (see also 2.3.1.). The form -um is the least frequent of the spatial distinctions, and its use is to some extent ruled by different conditions, why it will be treated separately from the -ii- and -aa- forms.

The primary function of this threefold distinction is thus locative, as described in 2.2.5.2. etc: -ii and -aa denoting positions near and distant respectively, in relation to the speaker; the form -um making the distinction 'near' but in relation to the addressee rather than the speaker.

- 1. kaan-fii 'the house (here)'
house-DE
- 2. dëk-aa wi-yaak-waa 'the big town (there)'

town-DEF ATTR-big-DEF

3. kata-kum wum 'that calabash (near you)'

calabash-DEF DEM

4. Yi yii dii. 'S/he is here.'

s/he PROG here

5. Ba ɓaa hay. 'They are coming.' (Although still not visible to speaker)

they PROG come

10.3.2. Temporal deixis

There is a very clear distinction in the use of pronouns, the progressive particle and of definite forms of nominals, with respect to the time in which these occur. When the reference is to a past time or remote future, the remote form -a/-aa is always used. This implies that this is the form used in, for example, all narrative discourse (with exceptions such as direct speech), although the scene of the narration may be laid in a spatial proximity.

1. En-ee yaal. Yaal-aa ka'-ta ga naah. Ya wo' naah-aa an:

be-PAST man man-DEF go-NARR to healer he say healer-DEF COMPL

'There was a man. The man went to a healer. He said to the healer:'

The form -i/-ii, however, which expresses proximity to speaker, can only be used for present or immediate future, if these coincide with proximity in space.

2. Ee-fu yii ga túuy-ii wii. 'Your mother is in this hut.'

mother-REL(2sg) PROG in hut-DEF DEM

3. Yi yii yah. 'S/he is leaving.'

s/he PROG go

Textual deixis is, what Lyons defines as "the reinterpretation of deictic location in terms of what may be called location in the universe-of-discourse" (LYONS p.670). Thus, this deictic distinction serves to define the nominal reference to an anaphoric expression from the point of its location in the context of the utterance itself, regardless of its location in space or time. In textual deixis in Noon, there are two positional questions that must be taken into account:

- #### 10.3.3.1. Anaphoric/cataphoric reference

2. Mi wo⁻-'aa iĩaa. 'I tell you this/that.'
I say-OBJ(2sg) that

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3. Mi wo''aa iñii: Kaa soof kaan! 'I tell you this: Don't go home!'

I say-OBJ(2sg) this PROH return house

In the second example, iñaa is anaphoric, referring back to something already stated and therefore it is often accompanied by the referential suffix -ma, as in:

4. Kaa soof kaan! Mi wo'-'aa iñaa-ma en ða-n-aa fu gaañ-k-oo.

PROH return house I say-OBJ(2sg) this-REF be thus-N-SUB you hurt-REFL-PRES.NEG

'Don't go home! I tell you this so that you won't get hurt.'

One exception to this rule is the relative clause which normally has the relative pronoun iñaa although the reference follows after the pronoun:

5. Wo'-aa iñaa fu waa' ða. 'Say what you want.'

say-IMP P.REL you want REL.M

10.3.3.2. More than one anaphoric antecedent

If there is more than one anaphoric antecedent, as in disjunctive notions like 'one - the other', Noon normally uses the form of spatial speaker-proximity, -ii, for the first antecedent, and the numeral yíinoo 'one' for one or more of them. If yíinoo is used, it may be followed by the suffix -yaa (remote form) which serves as a definite form.

1. Dú baahay, yaa en béeb tank-ee iñaa ya waa' ga ëldúna ða.

you(pl) three P.REL be all choose-PAST P.REL he want on earth REL.M

Yii tank-ee ki-'en ha' dëk; yíinoo tank-ee ki-'en jëgíroh yi-yaak.

DEM choose-PAST INF-be chief village one choose-PAST INF-be teacher ATTR-big

Fu nak, fu tanuk-ka ki-'en ha' beti fi-jófi'.

you PTC you choose-NARR INF-be chief woman ATTR-good

'You three, each of you chose what he wanted on earth. One chose to be a village chief; the other chose to be a big teacher. But you, you chose to be the chief of a good woman.'

2. En-ee bo' na naanam-ci.

be-PAST person with co.wife-REL(3sg)

Yii tik-ka-naa, buwaa ñam bi ba kap; yíinooyaa tik-ka-n-aa buwaa bot.

DEM cook-NARR-SUB people eat until they be.satisfied one-DEF cook-NARR-N-SUB
people vomit

'There was a woman and her co-wife. When one cooked, people ate until they were satisfied; when the other cooked, people vomited.'

It is possible for yii 'one', the first of the two antecedents, to be expressed by a noun, as moorom 'peer' in the example 3 below. Here, yíinooyaa 'the other' alone conveys the disjunctive notion. Note that in a clause like 'one said to the other' the order in Noon is reverse from what is found in, for example, English, where 'one' would precede 'the other'. In Noon, however, 'the other' occurs first.

3. En-ee beti banak. Yíinooyaa wo' moorom-ci an:

be-PAST women two one-DEF say peer-REL(3sg) COMPL

'There were two women. The other said to her peer:'

10.3.4. The use of the deictic suffix -um

As mentioned, the spatial definition -um is far less frequent in spoken language than the other two, -ii/-aa described above. Its original spatial meaning is that of 'close to the addressee', or at least closer to the addressee than to the speaker. A typical example is this extract from a letter written to the parents of Nogay, who is with the parents, and thus far away from the letter-writer. When Nogay is referred to by the progressive particle yii/yum/yaa, it is the form with the suffix -um that is used:

1. Mi yaakaa' ɓan Nogay yum yoon ki-jaŋ bi jof.

I think too Nogay PROG learn INF-read until good

'I also think that Nogay is (near you) learning to read well.'

But there is a further dimension of the use of -um. There seems to be a stylistic force in the use of this form, in order to rise the text to a more formal, solemn or poetic language. Thus, in the following example, a letter-writer has mentioned to the addressees a problem that he has, for which he asks for some help. Here, the suffix -um is used for the matter in question (iñum-ma) and also to refer to the letter-writer himself, in the progressive marker yum:

2. Mi waar-ee-rúu ki-wo' iñum-a.⁴ /.../

I want-PAST-OBJ(2pl) INF-say this-REF

Mi yum meekisoh-húu iñum dú halaat ga ɗa, ee mi yum bayluk-kúu.

I PROG ask-OBJ(2pl) P.REL you(pl) think of REL.M and I PROG apologize-OBJ(2pl)

'I wanted to say this to you /.../. Now, I am asking you what you think about this, and I am asking you to forgive me.'

⁴As mentioned in 2.2.5.6., the initial consonant of the referential suffix is lost when added to the position marker -um.

In this example, the iñum could be thought of as referring to the problem that the writer has sent away to the addressees, why it is now closer to them than to him. However, the form yum of the progressive particle is harder to interpret since it is in agreement with the subject mi, referring to the writer himself. If the writer were to be seen as being closer to the addressees than to himself, that would have to be in a very figurative sense, such as that he presents himself and his problem to the addressees, and he is now in their hands. This type of formal, very polite use of -um seems to be quite widespread.

Another use of this form, connected to the former, is the poetic one, in songs and poems. Here, the form -um is very often used where one would expect the form -aa (in some cases -ii) in normal speech. In the following examples from two harvest songs, the form -um is more frequent than any other. (The particle réy is used to fill out the end of the stanza, and it occurs in songs only):

3. Lín-aa wac-oo réy, fiil-um-goo lín ga dígí toy-tum. Línaa wac-oo réy.

farmer finish.work-PRES.NEG PTC friend-DEF-POSS(1sg) cultivate in midst girls-DEF etc.

'The farmer does not finish/get off work. My friend cultivates among the girls. The farmer does not get off work.'

4. Kon lah-um hay-aa, Kooh, on-aa-ríi lah wi-jóffí!

thus rainy.season-DEF come-SUB God give-IMP-OBJ(1pl.EXCL) rainy.season ATTR-good

'Thus, when the rainy season comes, God, give us a good rainy season!'

10.4. Theme, focus and emotive emphasis

This section will deal with the ways in which different elements in the sentence are assigned prominence within the message. The kinds of prominence that will be

examined here are those of theme, focus and emotive emphasis; the theme designates the starting point of the message, normally in forms of known information; the focus marks the point where most prominent and important, often new, information is presented; emotive emphasis is the means by which the speaker may express emphasis based purely on emotions, and not on the functional part of the element in the message. The ways of assigning different kinds of prominence to the elements in the sentence involve the position of the element in the sentence and the use of different emphatic markers.

10.4.1. Theme

In Noon, as in many languages, the theme is the initial element of the clause, which can also be described as the topic of the message or its starting point. The unmarked theme of a main clause would then naturally be the subject or the imperative verb. These both occur clause initially, and they are the natural points of departure for the rest of the message. Many adverbials occur either in clause initial or final position (see 8.3.3.) depending on the information focus of the clause. When adverbials occur in clause initial position (as in examples 3 and 4), they are interpreted as the theme of the clause. In the following examples, the unmarked themes are underlined:

1. Mi y'ah Padee. 'I go to Fandène.'

I go Fandène

2. Ki-lín hareen en-i na lah. 'Cultivation of peanuts is done in the rainy season.'

INF-cultivate peanuts be-HAB with rainy.season

3. Kooh wíis-aa, buwaa y'ah yoon-caa. 'At dawn, people go to the fields.'

God make.day-SUB people go fields-DEF

4. Du malak ga duuy Padee-n-aa, kaan-faa en béeḅ laak-in sóogúu ga fenoo ga.

we.INCL look at inside Fandène-N-SUB house-DEF be all have-PERF shade at behind
PART

'If we look at the village of Fandène, (we'll see that) every house has a shade at its backside.'

5. Yug-aa dii!

'Sit down here!'

sit-IMP here

Thematic fronting / Topicalisation

The marked form of the theme occurs when an element is topicalised through fronting to clause initial position, although it does not act as the subject of the clause. The fronted theme is a NP which may have different syntactic functions in the clause, e.g. as complement, but which here occurs in a marked initial position. The syntactic functions of the fronted NP may be filled by a "projection" pronoun in its base position in the clause, but it may also be left as a gap. In some cases, the fronted theme may have a minor syntactic function in the clause, such as an element in a relative clause, an implicit possessor, but it has a heavier semantic function as being the theme/topic of the message it precedes. In example 6 below, the theme has the function of the object of the clause, whereas in 7, it is the subject of a relative clause functioning as a determiner of the subject iṇaa. In example 8, the theme is not repeated by a pronoun in its base position in the clause (which would be as a possessor of the noun yah 'hand'), but the connection is implicit. In the dichotomy of topic - comment, the fronted theme can thus be said to be the topic, expressing old information, and the following part of the clause would be the comment, conveying new information.

6. Eefu, mi hot-ta-ri ga marsi.

'Your mother, I saw her at the market.'

mother-REL(2sg) I see-NARR-OBJ(3sg) at market

7. Buur-aa, iña ya laak-ee ɗa tooh, yas-uk-oh-ha. 'The king, all he had was wasted.'
king-DEF P.REL he have-PAST REL.M all destroy-REFL-DUR-NARR

8. Yaal-aa daal, yah-aa kúg-in. 'The man, really, he was greedy. (lit: the hand was bent)'
man-DEF PTC.EMPH hand-DEF bend-PERF

Under some circumstances, it is also possible to interpret the subject of the clause as topicalised, when it occurs clause initially and then is repeated by a pronoun. This happens for instance when the subject is an expansive NP with several attributes, or when the subject NP is given emotive emphasis by an emphatic particle, and the subject has to be repeated by a pronoun:

9. Beti-faa fi-móri'-faa en na ki-ham ɗa, ya dëk Caañaak.
woman-DEF ATTR-be.pretty-DEF be with INF-dance REL.M she live Thiès

'The pretty woman who is dancing, she lives in Thiès.'

10. Mi déy, mi koor-an ga waas-um wi-yaak-wum. 'I, I'll go by the big road.'
I PTC.EMPH I pass-FUT on road-DEF ATTR-big-DEF

A separate note has to be made on the account of proverbs. It is a very common feature for a proverb to have a fronted theme, such as in the following two examples:

11. Enoh fi-súusúus, fu hot miis mi-yaanaaw ga-naa, laa gërëm-aa-ri.
cow ATTR-black you see milk ATTR-white PART-SUB SUGG thank-IMP-OBJ(3sg)

'A black cow, if you see white milk from it, may you thank it!'

12. Kedik, iṇaa fu y'oḅ ga-naa, yëri tapis-an ga.

tree P.REL you cut PART-SUB P.EMPH leaf-FUT PART

'A tree, what you cut from it, that is what will leaf from it.'

Prototypically, the theme is given information to the listener. However, in discussing the distinctions between theme-rheme and given-new, Halliday points out that, although related, these distinctions are not equative: *"The Theme is what I, the speaker, choose to take as my point of departure. The Given is what you, the listener, already know about or have accessible to you. Theme + Rheme is speaker-oriented, while Given + New is listener-oriented."* (Halliday 1985:278)

In the proverbs, the theme is often an item that is newly introduced in the discourse, and which occurs in its indefinite form. This would indicate that it is new information from the point of the speaker. Still, these proverbial themes mostly seem to connect to a generic notion that is known to the listener and that has certain predictable collocations to a culturally homogenous audience. Thus, from the point of the listener it is still given information.

10.4.2. Focus

The focus of a clause is the element indicating the information considered as most central and prominent by the speaker. The unmarked position of the element in focus is clause final, which means that the object tends to hold this function, the basic word order being SVO.

1. Mi lom-in maalu.

'I have bought rice.'

I buy-PERF rice

2. Ya dök kaan-faa fúu-nee. 'S/he lives in the house over there.'

s/he live house-DEF DEM-DIST

In the above examples, a prototypical (patient) object and a locative object respectively constitute the information focus, but any constituent of the clause may be focused: subject, object, verb or adverbial. However, in a non-final position in the clause, the focused item must be marked for focus by an emphatic pronoun:

- If the focus is on the subject, this has to be marked by an emphatic pronoun
- Object or adverbials are focused if in clause-final position. However, if these elements function both as theme and as focus, and occur topicalised, fronted to clause-initial position, they can be marked for focus by the emphatic pronoun.
- If the focus is on the verb, the verb must occur in final position of the clause, but it must also be marked by aspect.

10.4.2.1. Subject focus

Since a subject never occurs clause finally, it has to be marked for focus when bearing the load of focal information. This marking is realised by the emphatic pronoun Cërí (see 2.4.1.4.) which may occur with the subject NP or replace it:

1. Yërí dök kaan-faa fúunee. 'It is he who lives in the house over there.'

P.EMPH live house-DEF DEM

2. Kaan-fii fii fërí haan ki-tawah-u. 'It is this house that has just been built.'

house-DEF DEM P.EMPH have.just(AUX) INF-build-PASS

When the emphatic pronoun occurs with the subject NP, as in example 2, the NP could be interpreted as a fronted theme which is repeated by a pronoun, in this case the

itself defocused. So, the defocusing is a function of both the position and the pronominalisation of the noun. If the object is defocused, as in examples 4 and 6, the focus falls on the head verb, if this is the last item of the clause. This, in its turn, may also be seen as a type of object focus since the head verb is the complement of the finite verb, i.e. the auxiliary.

3. Mi waa'-tii ki-wo' yaal-cao. 'I don't want to tell the men.

I want(AUX)-ASP.NEG INF-tell men-DEF

4. Mi waa'-tii-ba ki-wo'. 'I don't want to tell them.'

I want(AUX)-ASP.NEG-obj(3pl) INF-tell

5. Mi hay ki-wo' buwaa. 'I will tell the people.'

I will(AUX) INF-tell people

6. Mi hay bo ki-wo'. 'I will tell people.'

I will(AUX) people INF-tell

In the last example above, the noun bo 'people' is defocused by its position only.

10.4.2.3. Adverbial focus

As we have seen (8.3.3.), the position of the adverbial may be either clause initial or final, and the difference between these two usages is precisely that of focus. In initial position, the information is a starting point which is normally known, whereas in a final position it conveys the central, often new, information of the message. In the following examples, the adverbial occurs first clause initially (ex. 1), and here the focus is on the clause object, Demba. Secondly, the same adverbial appears clause finally (ex. 2), and here it is in focus, as an answer to the question 'Where did you meet Demba.':

1. Ga waas-aa-ma, mi hot-ee Demba. 'On the road there, I saw Demba.'
 on road-DEF-REF I see-PAST Demba

2. Mi hot-ee Demba ga waas-aa-ma. 'I saw Demba on the road there.'
 I see-PAST Demba on road-DEF-REF

There is a possibility for an adverbial which is in focus, to also be topicalised and fronted, but this requires for the adverbial to change into a NP complement, since a PP cannot be topicalised. This can be done if the verb is made locative by the derivational suffix -oh (see 5.2.6.3. and 8.2.1.1.2.), and the locative adverbial changes into a locative complement. Thus, the adverbial ga waasaama in example 2 could be replaced by the noun waasaama 'the road there', and become the second object of the verb hotoh, the first being Demba. As a noun, waasaama can be fronted and it can also be put into focus by the emphatic pronoun:

3. Waas-aa-ma, wërí mi hot-oh-ee Demba.
 road-DEF-REF P.EMPH I see-DUR-PAST Demba
 'It was on the road there that I saw Demba.'

If there are several adverbials in the clause, their position is still governed by the focus of the clause: several adverbials may occur clause initially to give the focus to, for example, an object, or one adverbial may occur initially and another, the focal one, in final position:

4. Wútúwaa ga waas-aa, mi hot-ta Demba. 'Yesterday on the road, I saw Demba.'
 yesterday on road-DEF I see-NARR Demba

5. Wútúwaa, mi híd-oh-ha na Demba ga marsi. 'Yesterday I met Demba at the market.'

yesterday I meet-REC-NARR with Demba at market

Since clause elements with nominal constituents behave rather similarly in this respect, it could be clarificatory to give a summary of the ways in which theme and focus can operate in NPs and PPs in the clause. In the following examples, it is also noted if the thematic or focal position is unmarked or marked in the clause.

		THEME	FOCUS
6. Mi hotin Kodu.	'I have seen Kodu.'	S -unmarked	O -unmarked
S	O		
7. Daama, mi hotee Kodu.	'There, I saw Kodu.'	Adv -unmarked	O -unmarked
Adv	O		
8. Mi yërí hot Kodu.	'It is me who sees Kodu.'	S -unmarked	S -marked
S	O		
9. Kodu, mi yërí hot-ti.	'Kodu, it is me who see her.'	O -marked	S -marked
O	S		
10. Kodu, mi hot-ti daama.	'Kodu, I see her there.'	O -marked	Adv -unmarked
O	S	Adv	
11. Kodu yërí mi hot.	'It is Kodu that I see.'	O -marked	O -marked
O	S		

10.4.2.4. Verb focus

As we said initially in this section (10.4.), any element of the clause may constitute the focus of the clause. When focus is put on the verb, the following structural requirements must be considered:

- the verb must occur clause finally
- the verb has to be marked for aspect

For the verb to appear clause finally in a focal position, complements have to be implicit or pronominalised, and adverbials have to be removed or placed in clause initial position. The form of the verb has to be marked for aspect, i.e. it cannot appear in its unmarked form. The form unmarked for aspect is either the present, simple form which is equivalent to the root of the verb, or the past with the suffix -ee. In addition, focus operating on another element of the clause can also affect the form of the verb:

- a) If the focus is unmarked and falls on a non-verbal element of the clause, such as the complement, the verb has no restrictions as to which forms it can take - it may occur in an unmarked as well as marked form, but here the marking shows the mode or aspect only, without marking the verb for prominence.
- b) If the focus is marked and falls on a non-verbal element, i.e. it falls on a subject or a fronted object, the verb must take the unmarked form.
- c) If the focus is on the verb, this must be in a marked form.

This means that the marking of the verb can either function as a modification of the verb, when there is another focus in the clause, or it can mark the verb for focus prominence when co-occurring with a final position of the verb. In the cases when the verb must occur unmarked, i.e. when focus is marked on a subject or fronted object, the aspect of the verb is lost and can only be interpreted in light of the context. Thus in these instances, the unmarked present form may express a present, perfective, future, habitual or progressive aspect. In the following example, the choice between these aspects is found in the question that precedes the clause with an unmarked verb:

1. Fu hot-in Kumba-n-e? 'Have you seen Kumba?'

you(sg) see-PERF Kumba-N-PQ

2. Ó'óo. Kodu yërí mi hot. 'No, it is Kodu that I have seen.'

no Kodu P.EMPH I see

In example 2, the focus is on the object, Kodu, which is topicalised and fronted. Since focus is marked and falls on a non-verbal element, the verb hot must be unmarked (see b) above), but it takes its aspect from the verb in the context, i.e. the preceding question (hotin - perfective aspect). The rules for verb focus and the marking of the verb when there is a non-verbal focus are exemplified in the following clauses:

		verb form	focus
3. Mi yah <u>Padee</u> . I go Fandène	'I go to Fandène.'	unmarked	O
4. Mi yah-in <u>Padee</u> . I go-PERF Fandène	'I have gone to Fandène.'	marked	O
5. Mi <u>yii yah</u> . I PROG go	'I am going.'	marked	V
6. <u>Mi yërf</u> yah Padee. I P.EMPH go Fandène	'It is me who goes to Fandène.' /has gone/will go etc.	unmarked	S

10.4.3. Emotive emphasis

Both theme and focus provide emphasis in the message, although with different functions. In addition to these types of emphasis, there is the emotive emphasis which is based purely on the emotions of the speaker. The emotive emphasis is marked by the emphatic particles (see 7.2.4.), which all occur immediately following the emphasised constituent. The emphasis may be general, with the use of emphatic particles like de, daal, nak, déy, which can be translated by 'really, indeed'. Other emphatic particles are ḡan 'too, also' and sah 'even'⁶. Generally, any part of the clause, or the whole clause may be marked by emotive emphasis, although by far the most common is for the

⁶For the different uses of the emphatic particles, see their separate descriptions in 7.2.4.

theme or the whole clause to be marked. If the emphatic particle occurs after a verb, it is the whole previous clause that is emphasised. The emphatic particles are always pronounced with more stress than any other element of the clause, and by that they produce a break in the clausal stress pattern which separates the emphasised element from the following part of the clause, unless the emphatic particle occurs in an already prepausal position clause finally. As mentioned in looking at the theme prominence (10.4.1. ex. 10): if the theme is unmarked (subject) and it also takes an emphatic particle, it has to be repeated by a pronoun, and can thus be said to have been fronted. This is understandable in the view of the separation of the subject from the following clause, caused by the presence of the emphatic particle. In the following examples, the emotive emphasis is placed on the theme; first on a subject theme which is also focused by the emphatic pronoun, secondly on a topicalised NP which has the syntactical function of (partitive) object in the main clause:

1. Díw daal, yëri mín ño' ki-yërëm.

individual PTC.EMPH P.EMPH can(AUX) people INF-compassionate

'Really, this individual, he is the one who can be compassionate with people.'

2. Iñaa-ma déy, wari ya hay-ee dii, mi er-oo-ri ga!

P.I-REF PTC.EMPH although he come-PAST here I give-PRES.NEG-OBJ(3sg) PART

'That, indeed, even if he came here, I wouldn't give any of it to him!'

In the following examples, it is the whole clause that receives emotive emphasis:

3. Mi ka'-tii fen de!

'Really, I didn't go anywhere!'

I go-ASP.NEG nowhere PTC.EMPH

4. Mi hot-in-di de! Mi saawal-in na-ri sah!

I see-PERF-OBJ(3sg) PTC.EMPH I speak-PERF with-OBJ(3sg) even

'Indeed I've seen him! I've even spoken to him!'

10.5. Foregrounding and backgrounding

In a text, there are almost always certain parts that are marked as foregrounding or backgrounding, i.e. providing information that is more or less central to the context, while the rest of the discourse can be seen as unmarked in the flow of information. Devices to mark different parts of the sentence as carrying more weight have already been presented earlier: this is rather an attempt to look at the discourse in general from the angle of information weight and describe the ways in which the language expresses this difference.

10.5.1. General devices for foregrounding and backgrounding

Foregrounding of certain parts of the text is primarily achieved by what has been discussed above as theme, focus and emotive emphasis. However, when it comes to theme and focus, these could hardly be said to express foregrounded information when they occur in an unmarked position, but rather to be of neutral status since they comply with the unmarked structure of the clause. Only in marked positions will theme and focus express foregrounding, such as in fronted theme and focus marked by an emphatic pronoun. Obviously, these types of foregrounding all represent separate bases for the information weight put on the clause element, but they all function to distinguish that part from others as being of more importance.

Backgrounded information serves the purpose of providing information that is additional to, or in some other way dependent on, the main message. It is marked as carrying less weight since it does not convey independent information, but rather extra information about the main message in the text. There are three ways of marking information for

backgrounding that will be mentioned here. Although there may be others that could be interpreted as carrying this function, these ways seem to be the most central. The most common way of backgrounding is by normal subordination. Adverbial subordination can give a temporal or modal backgrounding to the main clause, as described above (see 9.2.4.3.). A second possibility to mark a clause as background information is the use of certain tense-aspects (10.5.2.). The third way of decreasing the information weight of a part of the discourse, is by the use of the adverbs hen and lak (10.5.3. and 10.5.4.).

10.5.2. The use of tense in foregrounding/backgrounding

The choice of tense-aspect in a verb will in many cases have an influence on the status of the information presented in the clause. This is especially evident in narrative text, where some clauses are marked as setting the scene while others are moving the story forward. Very schematically, we can see two tense-aspects used for backgrounding in narration: the past and the progressive. The past forms, -ee and -eera, present actions previous to the foregrounded action, acting as a sort of preparation for the main story-line, while the progressive denotes actions simultaneous with the main ones, but which are less punctual. It expresses an action which goes on immediately around (before, after or both) and during the main event, and therefore it is there as a description of the scene for the main punctual event.

1. Mi ka'-ta luuf-aa fodaa fu lädír-ee-roo dā. 'I went to the forest as you told me.'

I go-NARR forest-DEF as you(sg) indicate-PAST-OBJ(1sg) REL.M

2. Mi hot-ta-ri ya yaa wo' na toon-oh-caa. 'I saw him talking to the sellers.'

I see-NARR-OBJ(3sg) s/he PROG talk with sell-AGENT-DEF

While the past and progressive can be said to have a backgrounding effect, the narrative aspect can be seen as foregrounding, as seen in the examples 1 and 2 above. It is the

narrative that represents the core of the story-line, the punctual, consecutive actions that move the story ahead.

The present tense can represent either backgrounded or foregrounded information, depending on the function of the tense in the context:

- The present can be used to set the scene in narration, in the same way as past. This function is mainly seen in non-action verbs. Consequently, the same rôle as the present is played by the perfective aspect of stative verbs, which represents a present state, as in kúgin in example 3, where the main participants are introduced:

3. En-ee beti na yaa-ci. Yaa-aa daal, took-oo ki-eroh dara, yah-aa kúg-in.

be-PAST woman and man-REL(3sg) man-DEF PTC.EMPH accept-PRES.NEG INF-give
nothing hand-DEF bend-PERF

'There was a woman and her husband. The man, he refused (refuses) to give anything, his hand was (is) bent (i.e. he was greedy).'

- The present can also be used to move the story forward, as a historic present, synonymously with the narrative and often in the same clause as a narrative verb. Here, mainly action verbs are found. In this function, it is always replaceable by a verb in the narrative.

4. Ya ka'-ta ga kēmēenki-ci yi-beti, ya wo'-i an:

s/he go-NARR to younger.sibling-REL(3sg) ATTR-female s/he say-OBJ(3sg) that

'He went to his younger sister and said (says):'

Both these usages of the present in the narrative - setting the scene or forwarding the plot - can be interpreted as the speaker putting himself in the narration, seeing the story as something presently happening, and describing it thus. The function of the present tense is then dependent on the type of verb and the context. This is in accordance with

how the present would be used in non-narrative discourse: non-action verbs for setting a scene or describing, action verbs for punctual actions.

10.5.3. The use of the adverbial restrictor hen

Hen has been described as an adverb that can occur either with a temporal or modal restrictor function (see 4.2.1.1. and 4.2.2.1.). Its English equivalence would be 'just' or 'only'. In many cases, this translation can account for its usage in contexts such as:

1. An: "Oomaa-cum, fu lím-ḡa hen ee ḡa en-dii mbok-fu".

COMPL children-DEF you give.birth-OBJ(3pl) just but they be-ASP.NEG
patrilinear.family-REL(2sg)

'He said: "The children, you only give birth to them, but they aren't your patrilinear family.'

In its modal function, hen can serve to emphasise an imperative, in which case it can still be translated by 'just':

2. Yug-aa hen! 'Just sit down!'

sit-IMP just

On many occasions, the use of this adverb can be described as having a subordinate restrictor function on a discourse level. Although the uses of hen are quite varied, it seems to be a general fact that its presence affects the semantic status of the clause where it occurs, on discourse level although not on sentence level. Therefore, we will give it specific attention here.

The common feature of the different functions of hen seems to be to convey background information of some sort. The clause with hen resembles subordinate clauses in one important respect; its verb always occurs in its unmarked form, normally

in the present unmarked form, but in relative clauses it may also appear in the past unmarked form. However, hen cannot be interpreted as a subordinate conjunction since it occurs both in clauses with subordinate conjunctions such as the irrealis subordinator -aa (ex. 2), and in those with co-ordinate conjunctions, for example the causal ndaga 'because' (ex. 3):

3. Ya le' hen-aa, laak yii-ma feek-uunun.

she arrive just-SUB find DEM-REF beat-PASS.PERF

'Just as she arrived, she found that the other one had been beaten.'

4. Sëldiig-aa jof-in ndaga ya som-i 6o' hen.

protector.spirit-DEF be.good-PERF because he protect-HEB people just

'The protector spirit is good simply because he protects people.'

Thus, the function of hen can be said to operate on a higher level than syntax: its task is to mark a clause as background information, which makes it semantically dependent and subordinate to a main clause. However, the kinds of background information that may be marked by this adverb are quite varied, and must be further separated. The first distinction between the uses of hen can be drawn between narrative and non-narrative discourse. Further on, certain differences can be seen within the non-narrative use.

10.5.3.1. In narrative text

In narrative text, hen almost always carries an immediate restrictor temporal function, 'as soon as', presenting an action that is simultaneous with or immediately preceding the main action. This preceding action is not presented as one in a chain of actions of the same status, but rather as a laying of the scene for the coming action. It can also be giving an explanation or cause of the main action.

1. Ya le' hen, ya wo'-'a an: 'As soon as he had arrived, he said:'

he arrive just he say-NARR this

2. Door-aa dal hen rek, saañ-faa kaan-da.

stick-DEF strike just only palmrat-DEF die-NARR

'As soon as the stick had struck, the palmrat died.'

The verb followed by hen could also be translated by a participle, underlining the backgrounding character of the construction:

'Having arrived...' and 'The stick having struck...'.

10.5.3.2. In non-narrative text

In non-narrative text, specifically in argumentative discourse, hen marks one part of the discourse as an expansion of the other, main clause. When Halliday discusses the notion 'expansion' in discourse, he defines it as follows:

"Expansion: the secondary clause expands the primary clause, by (a) elaborating it, (b) extending it or (c) enhancing it." (Halliday 1985:196)

The functions of hen correspond very much with what Halliday labels elaboration:

"In ELABORATION, one clause elaborates on the meaning of another by further specifying or describing it. The secondary clause does not introduce a new element into the picture but rather provides a further characterization of one that is already there, restating it, clarifying it, refining it, or adding a descriptive attribute or comment. The thing that is elaborated may be the primary clause as a whole, or it may be just some part of it - one or more of its constituents." (p. 203)

Modal hen seems to function very much in this elaborating manner, to clarify or exemplify the main clause. It may be used to restate or define the main clause by

exemplifying it, as in the following example (1), where it occurs in the first and last definitions of kedik-túl 'medicines of invulnerability':

1. Kedik-túl laak-in caa an-s-i hen, caa pok-k-us-i, mbati caa book-uk-s-i hen.

medicines-invulnerability exist-PERF DEM drink-PASS-HAB⁷ just DEM tie-REFL-PASS-HAB or DEM wash-REFL-PASS-HAB just

'Medicines of invulnerability: there are those that should be drunk, those that should be tied (to the body) or those that should be washed (on a person).'

It may also elaborate the main clause by clarifying it, stating either its cause (ex. 2) or its consequence (ex. 3):

2. Ki-bokit /.../ man na buwaa líiw-u hen, wa jom-ba ki-sétí'.

INF-sprinkle resemble with people be.dirty-PLUR just it should-OBJ(3pl) INF-clean

'The sprinkling /.../ is like if people are dirty, it should clean them.'

3. 'Buwaa-ma, jín-aa moytuk-i-6a hen, ndaga 6a iñ-caa búumí'.

people-REF genie-DEF confuse-HAB-OBJ(3pl) just because they PROG blind

'These people, the genie will just confuse them, because they are blind.'

In example 2, the hen-clause states the cause: the water-sprinkling should clean the people, 'since they are dirty.' In the second, the cause is stated in the main clause - they are blind - and the consequence is expressed in the hen-clause: therefore the genie will confuse them. In this example, hen also has a restrictor function, since the context states that the genie won't eat them, as is his normal behaviour, but just confuse them.

⁷Note that the habitual is here used in a more prescriptive function (see also 5.3.3.2.4.)

Hen also occurs in relative clauses, either with a temporal or with an expansive function. As mentioned initially, the verb in relative clauses with hen may be either present or past unmarked form. Here, the relative marker da is always absent, and hen occurs in final position of the relative clause (cf. the replacement of da by emphatic particles, 8.2.1.2.1.):

4. Wo'-u an iñaaa luhuus-u hen maañ-oo.

say-PASS COMPL P.REL evoke-PASS just stay-PRES.NEG

'It is said that things that are just evoked, don't stay.' (i.e.: riches that are obtained magically with the help of spirits, do not last, but disappear after a while.)

10.5.4. The use of the circumstantial adverb lak

The adverb lak or lakanaa has been described earlier (4.2.2.1.) as circumstantial. As such, its major function in discourse is to mark certain information as being the circumstance, i.e. the background for other information. Lak denotes circumstances that can be interpreted and translated by a temporal (ex. 1) and/or causal (ex. 2)⁸ subordination:

1. Ya ka'-ta bi ya laak loob-aa, lak loob-aa yaa yof.

s/he go-NARR until s/he have lumberjack-DEF CIRC lumberjack-DEF PROG chop

'He went until he found the lumberjack, as the lumberjack was chopping (wood).'

2. Dí en na ki-hay-aa, lak noh-aa waa yah ki-aas, dí bay bodaa, dí bay saañ, dí bay peeñ.

we.EXCL be with INF-come-SUB CIRC sun-DEF PROG will(AUX) INF-enter we bring hare
we bring palm.rat we bring squirrel

'When we were coming (back), as/since the sun was going down, we brought hare, we brought palm rat, we brought squirrel.'

⁸This example is a narration told in a historic present.

In these two examples, lak occurs in an initial position of a clause that could be seen as subordinate, which could lead us to interpret it as a conjunction. However, lak may also mark a main clause as circumstance. In example 3, the subordinate clause is introduced by conjunction waa 'when', and lak occurs introducing the main clause. In ex. 4, lak occurs following the co-ordinative conjunction ee 'and':

3. 'Bii dey, waa ya koo' dii, lak oomaa-n-ii yii laak tíkís ti-yitnatanak da lím-uk bëríi.
 person PTC.EMPH when he pass here CIRC child-N-DEF DEM have years ATTR-seven
 REL.M bear.child-REFL that.day
 'This person, when he passed by here, it happened that this child, who is now seven,
 was born on that day.'

4. Ee lak ya laak-in kowu-kaa wëe'-taa ga kii le' ki-pañ.
 and CIRC he have-PERF child-DEF be.sure-OBJ(2sg) of P.REL reach INF-marry
 'And he happened to have such a child (of whom you can be sure) who had reached
 marital age.'

As the adverb hen, lak affects the tense/aspect of the verb. We said that hen must be accompanied by a simple verb form (present or past). The verb in a clause introduced by lak is normally in a present tense, which indicates that it is not part of the action-line, but of the background setting. However, lak may also occur with a progressive aspect (ex. 1 and 2) or perfective (ex. 4) which both also function as backgrounding devices.

10.6. Speech forms

In discourse, there are two types of speech; direct and indirect:

- Direct speech reflects the actual speech of the speaker, and thus the matrix clause and the speech clause have little syntactic agreement: There is no tense/aspect agreement

between the speech/cognition verb and the verb of the speech, and the pronoun is the one used by the speaker from his/her point of reference. Furthermore, the direct speech is often coloured by ideophones and exclamations in order to make the situation more real and alive, which is the whole function of direct speech in discourse.

-Indirect speech, on the other hand, is more integrated grammatically into the matrix clause, in that pronouns are used from the point of reference of, for example, the narrator (in narrative discourse) and not of the speaker of the indirect speech. However, contrarily to what could be expected, the tense and aspect of the verb in the indirect speech is the same as it would be in direct speech; there is no agreement with the verb of the matrix clause. Thus, in 10.6.1. example 2 below, the speech verb is past tense 'said', but the verb of the speech is in future tense 'will go' since the action is in the future from the point of speaking, just as it would appear in direct speech. In the English translation, however, the tense of the indirect verb is interpreted with the tense of the speech verb as its reference - 'would go'.

There are two ways in which speech may be marked:

- with a speech/cognition verb and the complementiser an
- with the complementiser an alone

Of these, only the first is used in indirect speech: the verb may be omitted only in direct speech.

10.6.1. With speech verb and the complementiser an

The most common way to express both direct and indirect speech is by a speech verb and the speech introducing complementiser an which could be translated as 'this/that' (see 7.1.2.). The speech introducer precedes direct speech (ex. 1) or indirect speech (ex. 2) as in:

1. Yaal-aa hay-ya, wo¹-¹a-ri an: "Mi hot-in ee-fu."

man-DEF come-NARR say-NARR-OBJ(3sg) COMPL I see-PERF mother-REL(2sg)

'The man came and said to him/her (this): "I've seen your mother."'

2. Ya wo¹-ee an hay ki-ka¹ Dakaa¹ kuwis.

s/he say-PAST COMPL will(AUX) INF-go Dakar tomorrow

'S/he said that she would go to Dakar tomorrow.'

As stated earlier (6.2.2.4.), this speech form is used also with cognitive verbs, where it may also occur either as direct (ex. 3) or indirect (ex. 4):

3. Ya halaat-ee an: "Mi hot-oo ken." 'S/he thought (this): "I don't see anybody."'

s/he think-PAST COMPL I see-PRES.NEG nobody

4. Cica foog-ee an 6aa keloh-hii-ri.

grandmother think-PAST COMPL individual hear-ASP.NEG-OBJ(3sg)

'Grandmother thought that the person hadn't heard her.'

It is also quite common to find the verb en 'be' as a speech verb, as in the example:

5. Ndíik tuuk-ka tek ga hal-aa, ya en-da an: "Ca6!"

Ndíik stop-NARR IDEO at door-DEF he be-NARR COMPL INTERJ

'Ndíik stopped short at the door and said (that): "Goodness!"'

10.6.2. With the complementiser an only

Sometimes in direct speech, the verb may be omitted and implied in the complementiser an itself. Here, it is always the speech verb wo 'say' which is implied. This device is often used when there is a longer stretch of speech which contains certain interruptions. The interruption may be in form of the narrator's commenting on the story in the middle of a speech, or it may signal a switch in speaker in a dialogue. The new character may be stated explicitly or it may be implied from the story. In the following text sample, baal 'hyena' and mbuuñ 'hare' have a dialogue:

1. Ba (baal na mbuuñ) ka'-ta bi ga wahtu ki-been alaak-caa.

they hyena and hare go-NARR until at hour INF-harvest beans-DEF

2. Baal lííí'-tii kosu, mbuuñ laak-ka alaak ci-gěñ.

hyena fill-ASP.NEG basket hare have-NARR beans ATTR-abundant

3. An: "Du akitoḥ-at!"

COMPL we.INCL share-OPT

4. An: "Mi déy, mi akitoḥ-an-dii!"

COMPL I PTC.EMPH I share-FUT-ASP.NEG

5. An: "Du akitoḥ-at!"

COMPL we.INCL share-OPT

6. An: "Mi déy, mi akitoḥ-an-dii!"

COMPL I PTC.EMPH I share-FUT-ASP.NEG

1. 'They (hyena and hare) went on until it was time to harvest the beans.

2. Hyena didn't fill a basket, but hare got beans in abundance.

3. (So hyena said): "Let's share!"

4. (But hare answered): "Me, I won't share!"

5. (Hyena repeated): "Let's share!"

6. (And hare answered): "Me, I won't share!"

Here, the only way to know who is the speaker is by the context, since the subject is not overtly stated: It is hyena who has had a bad harvest and thus it must be he who wants to share the harvest of hare. Every time an is used it signals a switch in speaker.

11. SOME DIALECT DIFFERENCES

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- 11.3.8. The NP genitive construction and the adjective determiner
- 11.3.9. The non-verbal clause
- 11.3.10. Lexical differences

11.1. Overview of dialects

As mentioned in the introduction (0.2.2.), there are three major dialects of the language Noon: the Padee, the Cangin and the Saawii. The geographical distribution of these dialects is described in detail in 0.2.2., but a general division would be as follows (see also Map 2):

Padee - spoken in the village of Fandène (east of Thiès) and its surroundings

Cangin - spoken in the quarters in the town of Thiès itself

Saawii - spoken in the villages north of Thiès, along the main road to Tivaouane¹

No formal tests for intelligibility have been carried out between the dialects, but by exposing speakers to a different dialect than his own, we have been given the

¹There is some overlapping in the labelling, which might cause some confusion: The names Cagin or Cangin and Saawii or Saafii are used by the Noon to denote two of their dialects, but "Cangin" also occurs in the label "Cangin group" which is a subgroup of the northern Atlantic group, introduced by Pichl to classify five related languages of which Noon is one (see 0.2.1.). Another of these "Cangin languages" is Saafi-Saafi, which must be separated from, Saawii, the northern dialect of Noon.

impression that the three dialects are clearly intelligible to all Noon-speakers. The common impression of the people itself is that the Saawii and Padee dialects are closer to each other than to the Cangin dialect. This is supported by the fact that the Cangin dialect is phonologically, morphologically and lexically more different from the others than they are between themselves.

Another commonly expressed view (from Noon-speakers in all dialects) is that the Padee dialect is the "heaviest", and, some people say, the most archaic. The "heaviness" described by people refers to the fact that words are longer, with more syllables, i.e. very little contraction is taking place compared to what happens in the other dialects. The claim that Padee should be more archaic is naturally refuted by many of the speakers of other dialects. However, it is possible to note some linguistic tendencies, by doing a synchronic comparison of the dialects. Some of these tendencies support the fact that the Padee dialect is the one that seems to have been most conservative linguistically, at least in the recent history.

In carrying out this comparison, we are faced by the following restrictions: The only dialect that has been exposed to previous systematic research is the Cangin dialect, where Dr Lopis has given an enlightening description of the phonology and nominal morphology, in her *thèse de doctorat de 3ième cycle* (Lopis 1981). More specifically, it is the variant spoken in the quarter of Ngente in Thiès that has been the object of her observations. Whenever referring to the Cangin dialect, it is the work of Lopis that is the source of our information and our examples². As to the Saawii dialect, we are restricted to the general observations that we have made in conversation with the speakers of this

²For the sake of clarity, we have used the same symbols describing the Cangin dialect as we have for the Padee dialect, when the phonemes are the same. This means that, on a few occasions, we have altered the symbols in Lopis' work for comparison with the other dialects. The symbols concerned are: the glottal plosive, symbolised as /' / for Lopis' /ʔ /; the velar nasal in a prenasalised plosive /ŋg / instead of /ng /; the implosives /ɓ / and /ɗ / in syllable final position where they are symbolised by Lopis as /wʔ / and /yʔ /. For the vowels, see footnote 10 below.

dialect, while presenting texts in the Padee dialect to the Saawii speakers. Therefore, the main comparison must be made between the Padee and Cangin dialects, with references to the Saawii dialect where possible. Apart from the availability of data, this comparison seems to be especially valuable since the Padee and Cangin dialects are the biggest in numbers of speakers, and also since the Saawii and Padee show less differences.

In this chapter, we will try to outline the main areas in which the dialects differ. First we will look at the differences that clearly show that a simplifying development has taken place in the Cangin dialect, and secondly we will examine the dialectal differences that cannot easily be explained by simplification.

11.2. Dialect differences indicating a simplifying development

There are three main processes that can account for the fact that the Padee dialect is perceived as the more archaic:

1. the contraction of morphemes and words
2. the centralising of vowels
3. the loss of distinctions in the deictic system

11.2.1. Contractions of morphemes and words

There is a general tendency, both in Saawii and Cangin, to contract multisyllabic words, especially where the medial consonant is /s/. In this contraction the /s/ disappears and the vowels merge into one long.³ This contraction operates both in roots and in affixes:

³In our own observations, the resulting vowel is normally long in these dialects. In the speech variant studied by Lapis, these same words are found to have a short vowel.

<u>Padee</u>	<u>Cangin/Saawii</u>	
1. musu	mu/muu	'water'
2. mesip	mip/miip	'sauce'
3. is-uk	-ik	'intensive-reflexive' ⁴
as in: tīdisuk	tīindik	'go for a walk'

Where Padee has the nominal suffix -laat, which is added to a stative verb to form an abstract noun (see 2.2.2.), Cangin has a shortened variant, -la:

4. neḃ-laāt	neḃ-la	'sweet taste'
5. koḃ-laāt	koḃ-la	'sour taste'

Contraction occurs elsewhere, for example in words with the suffix -mun, which normally remain uncontracted in Padee:

<u>Padee</u>	<u>Cangin</u>	
6. eewun/eemun	eewën	'mother'
7. eemun-ii	eewn-i	'the mother'
8. mooromun	moromën	'peer'
9. mooromun-ii	moromni	'the peer (of same age group)'

What we have called the possessive suffixes in Padee, are contracted in Cangin (1sg, however, shows a contraction also in Padee):

<u>Padee</u>	<u>Cangin</u>	
10. jípílaa-goo (< garoo)	njëpëlëŋ-go	'my knife'

⁴This morpheme is described by Lapis as one single derivational suffix with the function of "*dépréciatif, excessif, indique que l'action est faite sans arrêt/cesse/limite, simultanément*" which coincide exactly with the use in Padee of the two suffixes *is-uk* when they occur together.

- | | | |
|-------------------|-------------|-------------------|
| 11. jípílaa-garaa | njëpëlëŋ-ga | 'your (sg) knife' |
| 12. jípílaa-garúu | njëpëlëŋ-gú | 'your (pl) knife' |

There is also contraction taking place between morphemes. This mainly occurs when unstressed pronouns are contracted with a following morpheme (particularly with the progressive particle Cii) or when the clitic ga (ngë in Cangin) is contracted with a previous morpheme. The contraction involving unstressed pronouns is also widespread in Padee, such as in the examples:

<u>Padee</u>	<u>Cangin</u>
13. mi yii > mii	më yi > mi
I PROG	
14. fu yërí > fërí	fë yírí > fírí ⁵
you(sg) P.EMPH	

But in Cangin the clitic ngë 'at, on' is generally contracted to a velar /ŋ/, while the corresponding clitic in Padee, ga, remains unchanged:

<u>Padee</u>	<u>Cangin</u>	
15. ɓa ga	ɓë ngë > ɓëŋ	
they at/on		
16. kaan-faa-ga-ri	kaan-fë-ŋ-ge ⁶	'his/her house'
house-DEF-at-OBJ(3sg) ⁷		

⁵In the Ngente dialect, according to Lópis, there is a variant to mírí (më yírí) which is mërë. She explains this variation as a result of two separate processes of assimilation taking place: one regressive and one progressive.

⁶The seemingly big difference between the corresponding object suffix morphemes, -ri and -ge is in reality only a difference in vowels (centralised in Cangin). The initial consonant does in both dialects assimilate to a previous consonant, in Cangin here to the velar nasal. If occurring intervocalically, it surfaces as -ɾ-, as in the Padee form here (see 1.3.2.4.).

11.2.2. Centralisation of short vowels

Although the same short vowel phonemes are represented in Cangin as in Padee, there is a very strong tendency for short, normally unstressed, vowels to appear as centralised to /ë/⁸ in the Cangin dialect. In a few cases, the close front vowel /i/ or the open vowel /a/ are centralised to the mid-close vowel /e/, as in the following examples:

- the 3sg suffixes -ri/-ci (in this work labelled object and relational suffixes), which appear as -e/-ce in Cangin
- the vowel of the verb kar- 'leave' in Padee, appears as ker- in Cangin
- the interrogative determiner C-iida in Padee is realised as C-inde in Cangin

This centralising → /ë/ process affects the short vowels that occur in Cangin as either [open] or [close], i.e. /í/, /i/, /ú/, /u/, /a/. However, the [-ATR] vowels seem to be much more prone to be affected by the centralisation than the [+ATR] vowels. There are a few examples where the centralisation does not take place, for example in the inersive suffix -ís, which keeps its close vowel, in comparison with the transitive suffix, -íd in Padee, which in Cangin appears as -ër (labelled 'causative' by Lopis). Since the process affects unstressed vowels, it is very common in affixes and pronouns. The following are

⁷In nominal morphology, 2.2.5.4., we have described the occurrence of ga + object suffix as one possessive suffix. Here, we separate the morphemes for comparison with the Cangin variant, to see how the morpheme ga is corresponded by ŋ and the pronoun -ri by -ge.

⁸Lopis does not distinguish the [+ATR] mid-close vowels /é/ and /ó/ in Cangin as separate phonemes. However, she admits that the sounds themselves occur, but very rarely, and their appearance could be explained in most of the cases, she says, by the fact that they occur only in loan words or conditioned by regressive vowel harmony. This interpretation is in agreement with the phonemic distribution of these vowels in Padee (described in 1.1.3.) although we have chosen to interpret them as separate phonemes, because of their increasing frequency in loan words.

examples of morphemes with vowels that show this consistent difference in Cangin and Padee⁹:

	Padee		Cangin
1.	-uk	reflexive	-ëk
2.	-us	passive	-ës
3.	fu	2sg subject	fë
4.	ku-	diminutive	kë-
5.	-mun	relational noun suffix	-mën
6.	-ra	narrative	-(r ¹⁰)ë
7.	yi/ya	3sg subject close/distant	yë
8.	ði/ða	3pl "	ðë
9.	ki-/ji-	diminutive	kë-/jë-
10.	ki-	infinitive	kë-
11.	mi	1sg subject	më
12.	-in	perfective	-ën
13.	-id'	benefactive	-ë' ('applicative/benefactive')
14.	-íd'	transitive	-ër ('causative')

An important result of this centralisation is that the vowel harmony, taking place when certain derivational suffixes are added to the verb root (see 1.3.7.2.), can no longer be defined in terms of the [ATR] feature in Cangin, since suffixes with both [+ATR] and [-ATR] vowels are centralised to the [+ATR] /ë/. Thus, of the following derivational

⁹Lopis uses the capital letters /I/ and /U/ to symbolise the [-ATR] high vowels and /i/ and /u/ for the [+ATR] counterparts. Here, for the sake of clarity, the same symbols have been used for the Cangin examples as we have used for the description of Padee: /í/ and /ú/ for [+ATR], /i/ and /u/ for [-ATR].

¹⁰The punctual past suffix in Cangin is described by Lopis as -ẹ̈, which is accompanied by a lengthening of the previous consonant. The same lengthening in Padee is interpreted as an underlying -r-, being assimilated to the previous consonant (see 1.3.1.). For comparison, we mark both suffixes here with an initial -r-.

suffixes in Cangin, Lopis claims that only the first two induce vowel harmony in the verb root, although they all contain a [+ATR] vowel in this dialect:

- 15. -ís 'inversive'
- 16. -ër 'causative'
- 17. -ík 'depreciative, excessive'
- 18. -ë' 'applicative, benefactive'
- 19. -ëk 'reflexive'
- 20. -ës 'passive'

In looking merely at the Cangin dialect, it is inexplicable why some of the [+ATR] suffixes and not others trigger the vowel harmony process. But in the light of the Padee dialect, and the vowel qualities of the suffixes before centralisation (and in one case contraction), it is quite obvious why the last four suffixes above do not act as [+ATR]: simply because they are originally [-ATR]. They originate from the vowels /u/, /i/ (and in the case of -ík from both /i/ and /u/). The vowel harmony process is similarly confused when, in the root, one of the vowels has been centralised, and the root contains vowels from both the [-ATR] and [+ATR] sets. Lopis points out that for some words with vowels from different sets, there are often variant forms as in:

- | | | |
|---------------------------------|------------|----------------|
| 21. ketek / ketëk ¹¹ | 'tree' | (Padee: kedik) |
| 22. kelef / kelëf | 'butter' | (kelef) |
| 23. xawë | 'couscous' | (haawu) |
| 24. ßetëw' | 'woman' | (ßeti) |

This means that, logically, the vowel harmony process, in all of the Noon dialects, is previous to the centralisation that has occurred in some dialects.

¹¹The /t/ in Cangin represents the plosive which, intervocalically, always is realised phonetically as voiced.

Another effect of this centralisation is the fact that Cangin has separate subject allocutive pronoun for 1sg and 2sg if they occur in unstressed or stressed position. In the unstressed position, they are centralised, but when occurring independently they are realised differently. As we have seen, in Padee, some pronouns may get an optional final [h] in these stressed position (see 2.4.2.1.). This fricative is realised as /x/ in Cangin:

	unstressed		stressed	
	1sg	2sg	1sg	2sg
Padee	mi	fu	mi(h)	fu(h)
Cangin	më	fë	mex	fox

The centralisation process could also be defined as a weakening of the short vowels, since the schwa commonly has a function of denoting the stage between a full vowel and a vowel deletion. Thus, another process that seems to go parallelly with the centralisation, is the weakening, or shortening of the long vowels in unstressed positions. In the following examples, the vowels of the morphemes are presented as short by Lopis, while the Padee equivalents are long.

Padee		Cangin
25. -rii	'aspectual negative'	-(r)i
26. -Cii/-Caa	'definite suffix'	-Ci/-Ca
27. Cii/Caa	'demonstrative pronouns'/'progressive particles'	Ci/Ca

This process could account for the fact that the vowel system in Cangin lacks three long vowel phonemes that occur in Padee: /ii/, /uu/, /ëe/. It is interesting to note that the

[-high, -low] vowels, /e/ and /o/, do not seem to be affected either by the centralisation or the weakening processes.

As mentioned in looking at the Padee dialect, we have noticed similar weakening processes within the dialect, but in much more restricted environments. The weakening takes place generally in word final position, or in a prepausal position (e.g. the shortening of the imperative suffix -aa, see 5.3.4.1.), but they are seldom obligatory and they normally disappear in slow speech. In certain morphemes, the short /a/ has a tendency to be realised as more centralised, however not as a [+ATR] /ë/. One example is the punctual suffix -ra and the prepausal imperative -a. Also, before a /y/, short /a/ tends to be more centralised (as in the woman's name Nogay). Similarly, long vowels can appear in an intermediate prepausal length.

11.2.3. The loss of distinctions in the deictic system

There are several examples where a spatial distinction, that exists in the Padee dialect, has been lost in Cangin:

- The substitutive subject pronoun ('s/he, it', see 2.4.1.1.) has a twofold (close/distant) distinction in Padee, which has been reduced to one single form in Cangin (as a result of vowel centralisation?):

Padee		Cangin
close/distant		
1. yi/ya	[+animate]	yë
2. wi/wa	C1sg	wë
3. fi/fa	C2sg	fë
4. ci/ca	C1-3pl	cë

It is probable that this reduction has affected the interpretation of the phenomenon here referred to as the attributive prefix (2.3.2.1.), the morpheme that precedes the nominal determiner in a NP and marks its agreement with the head noun. In Cangin, Lopis has chosen to treat this morpheme as a substitutive pronoun. This could be understood in the light of the fact that, in Cangin, the pronoun and this morpheme have the same realisations, Cë. In Padee, the attributive prefix has one single realisation, Ci-, while the pronoun shows a distinction in proximity. This has been one of the indications in our interpretation that the attributive prefix and the pronoun are separate morphemes.

- The definite suffix has a three-fold position marking in Padee (2.2.5.2.), but only two in Cangin: the position 2, -um 'near addressee' has disappeared.

Padee	Cangin
position 1/2/3	position 1/2
-kii/-kum/-kaa C4sg	-ki/-ka
-tii/-tum/-taa C4-6pl	-ti/-ta

- The demonstratives in Padee appear with 4 different distinctions for position (2.3.1.):

-ii	'close'	-aa	'distant'
-um	'near addressee'	-úu	'very distant'

In addition, three of these have an additional form which is used in explicitly spatial contexts (contrary to anaphoric use):

anaphoric	spatial
-ii	-iiy'
-aa	-aay'
-úu	-úuy'

In Cangin, Lopis makes a twofold distinction between close and distant, -i and -a, but she adds that the distant form has an additional variant -ay (-úy) which represents an

even further distance. This would mean that the position markers -um 'near addressee' and -úu 'very distant' have disappeared, as well as the spatial variant -iiy of the speaker-close position -ii.

11.3. Other dialect differences

In comparing the dialects, we also find certain differences that cannot easily be accounted for by a process of regularisation/simplification. These differences occur in phonological, morphological as well as syntactic areas. Obviously, since Lopis' description only covers the phonology and nominal morphology, at the moment we are restricted to the comparison of these areas. The main differences that have been found between the dialects are in the following areas:

1. the phonemes /h/ and /r/
2. prenasalised plosives
3. the realisations of voiceless consonants
4. gemination
5. noun classes
6. derivational suffixes
7. numeral contractions and ordinals
8. the NP: the genitive constructions and the adjective determiner
9. the non-verbal clause
10. lexical differences

11.3.1. The phonemes /h/ and /r/

The phoneme described as a glottal fricative /h/ in Padee, is represented by the velar fricative /x/ in Cangin. Within the Padee dialect, there is an alternative pronunciation of

this phoneme when it occurs word initially: it may keep appearing as [h] or it may be pronounced with more force, approaching the velar fricative. However, in a medial or final position, only the glottal fricative pronunciation is possible. In the Cangin dialect, the velar [x] seems to occur as a free variant of [h] in all positions, depending on the individual pronunciation. This move from a glottal fricative /h/ to a velar one, /x/, could reflect an influence from Wolof where only the very strong velar fricative /x/ exists.

The phoneme /r/ shows a difference in realisation in certain positions. In all dialects, syllable initially, the /r/ is pronounced as a trill:

1. raas 'search for'
2. raḅ 'evil spirit'

Lopis states that, in word initial position, the /r/ does not occur in true Noon words, but only in loan words. She also claims that other Noon villages pronounce /r/ where the Ngente (Cangin) has /l/. This is not true for the Padee dialect in the two examples that she has given: laak 'have' is identical in both dialects, and loos 'well' is a typical Cangin word which is not used in Padee. It is true, however, that Saafi-Saafi, a closely related language (see 0.2.1.), has the phoneme /r/ in the words mentioned.¹² In syllable coda position, however, the phoneme /r/ is reduced to a glottal plosive /ʔ/ in Padee, while /r/ still occurs in Cangin but with a realisation described as follows by Lopis:

"A la finale absolue, les battements ne sont plus perçus. En fait, la pointe de la langue se relève et reste bloquée contre les alvéoles." (Lopis 1981:68)

This description comes very close to the realisation of the alveolar implosive, which we have interpreted as the underlying form of /r/ (see 1.3.2.3. and 1.3.2.4.). Apparently, it has kept its point of articulation in Cangin, but only its glottality in Padee.

¹²The information about Saafi-Saafi has been attained mainly from Mr. Aliou Ndione from Boukhou.

11.3.2. Prenasalised plosives

There is one consistent and very striking difference between the dialects which concerns the voiced plosives. In Padee, as well as in Saawii, the prenasalised plosives exist as phonemes in contrast with voiced plosives, but only in word initial position in a very restricted number of words (quite often loan words), for example:

1. bok 'resemble' 2. mbok 'maternal relatives'

In Cangin, however, all voiced plosives are prenasalised, and the voiced non-nasalised plosives [b, d, ɟ, g] do not exist as phonemes, only as allophones of the voiceless plosives (see 11.3.3. below). However, the distribution of the prenasalised plosives is restricted to the syllable onset position, word initially or word medially, as shown in the following examples:

	Padee		Cangin
3.	ga	'at, on'	ngë
4.	dii	'here'	ndi
5.	jípíl	'knife'	njépël
6.	saboh	'lie'	sambox ¹³

In Cangin, according to Lopis, the phoneme /nd/ may also occur in the syllable onset in a consonant cluster, following the consonant /f/. So, through the deletion of the unstressed /ë/ in kefën when the reflexive suffix -ëk is added, the following cluster is possible:

kefën + ëk → kefndëk 'hurt one's leg'

My comment to this example given by Lopis, is that the final /n/ of the verb is probably an underlying /nd/¹⁴ which only emerges when appearing in a syllable onset position.

¹³Thus, the syllable break here is sa.mbox

¹⁴The underlying form in Padee is /d/, which is realised as a nasal in syllable coda position (see 1.3.2.1.).

Thus, in Cangin the prenasalised phonemes do occur in a coda position as well, but only as an underlying form. This interpretation would account for the change of into a prenasalised plosive when in the syllable onset.

11.3.3. Realisation of voiceless consonants

As just mentioned above, the voiced plosives [b, d, ɟ, g] do not occur in Cangin as phonemes, but as allophones of the voiceless plosives. This is a result of the voicing process that takes place in this dialect, in certain voiced environments. Lapis states that:

"toute consonne sourde devient sonore dans un environnement sonore, à condition que cet environnement ne comporte pas de nasale." (p. 63)

The implication of this rule is that the voiceless phonemes /p, t, c, k/ become [b, d, ɟ, g] intervocally or after /w, y, l/ and before a vowel, but following a nasal, they remain voiceless:

Cangin:

- | | | | |
|---------------|---|-----|-----------------|
| 1. /kop-a/ | = | [b] | 'the palm-wine' |
| 2. /soot-ën/ | = | [d] | 'is angry' |
| 3. /liw-çi/ | = | [ɟ] | 'the dew' |
| 4. /perem-çi/ | = | [c] | 'the tongues' |

The fricative /f/ has a somewhat more complex behaviour: It is realised as the voiced fricative /w/, according to the above rule, but not as consistently. The voicing normally takes place if /f/ occurs in a noun, but usually not in the verb. In the verb, however, there are often alternative forms. This voicing also occurs in the Saawii dialect, but only for the phoneme /f/, not the plosives.

Cangin and Saawi:

5. /noɸ-i/ = [w] 'the ear'
6. /liɸ-ën/ = [f] or [w] 'full (fill + perfective)'
- with [f] as the far more common variant

Lopis does not mention or give examples of the other voiceless consonants /s/, /x/ and /ʃ/; whether they are affected or not by the voicing rule given above.

The result of these two systems for plosives is that the dialects show the following phonetic differences: In syllable onset position, the underlying voiced plosives found in the Padee and Saawii dialects are realised as prenasalised in Cangin:

Padee		Cangin	Saawii
	___ V		
b	corresponds to	mb	b
d		nd	d
j		ɲj ¹⁵	j
g		ŋg	g

The underlying voiceless plosives, found in all dialects in non-intervocalic positions, appear as voiced in the Cangin dialect in an intervocalic position; in the same position, the fricative /f/ undergoes a restricted voicing process in both Cangin and Saawii:

	V___V		
p	corresponds to	b	p
t		d	t
c		j	c
k		g	k
f		w/f	w/f

¹⁵As in describing Padee, the phonetic realisation of a palatal nasal is represented by ɲ.

This is exemplified in the following verbs:

	<u>Padee/Saawii</u>	<u>Cangin</u>
7. 'hold'	am (> ab)	am (> amb)
8. 'hold + PERF'	abin	ambën
9. 'kill'	ap	ap
10. 'kill + PERF'	apin	abën

These differences, that mainly involve the plosives, could be seen to have developed from two separate morphophonological processes taking place in each of the dialects: the voicing process and the loss of prenasalisation (presuming these to be more plausible changes than a loss of voicing and an addition of prenasalisation). The results of these processes work in a logical chain: if the voiceless plosives are voiced in certain positions, they have to be differentiated from the voiced plosives which must keep their prenasalisation, as in Cangin. On the other hand, if the prenasalisation is lost, as in Padee, the voicing cannot be allowed since the realisations of plosives would then be identical in voiced environments.

11.3.4. Gemination

The gemination that occurs in Padee as a morphophonological change (1.3.1.), is also present in Cangin. In our work, we have chosen to interpret the gemination as a result of the assimilation of the phoneme /r/ to a previous consonant. The underlying /r/ emerges when occurring intervocalically (see 1.3.2.4.). Lopis has a different interpretation, and describes certain suffixes as provoking gemination, namely:

- the punctual aspect -ë (-ra in Padee)
- the negation suffix -i (-rii in Padee)

The other suffixes that in Padee have been found to trigger gemination, such as the object pronoun suffixes -roo, -raa, -ri, -ruu etc., are not mentioned to have this feature in Cangin. Lopis lists these pronouns as o, a, e etc. with no gemination following a consonant;

1. Më fek a 'I hit you.'

(In Padee: Mi feek-kaa.)

She explains their surface form following a vowel by the appearance of an intrusive -r:

"Le noon n'admet pas de séquence VV. L'hiatus est évité au moyen de r, par exemple: 'ona + o (donne + moi) > onaro "donne-moi"."

The consonants affected by gemination in Cangin, according to Lopis, are /p, t, c, k, f, s, w, y, x, l/. In addition, she states that the second part of a gemination of the phonemes /w'/ and /y'/ (in our work interpreted as the implosives /ɓ/ and /y/) are the voiceless plosives /p/ and /c/ respectively, which is in accordance with what we find in Padee (1.1.7.). However, she does not mention the phoneme /'/ which in Padee has been found to geminate in two different ways: as a double glottal /''/ or as a glottal followed by the plosive /t/, this last gemination occurring when the glottal is the surface form of an underlying implosive /d/ (1.3.2.3.). Neither are nasals or prenasalised plosives mentioned as occurring in geminations. The prenasalised plosives in Cangin correspond to the voiced plosives in Padee (see 1.3.2.). In a syllable coda position these consonants, in both dialects, surface as nasals. Thus, in Padee, gemination of underlying nasals and of underlying plosives, surfacing as nasals, are identical: they appear as a nasal followed by a homorganic voiced plosive (see 1.3.2.1. and 1.3.2.2.). From our own observations of Cangin, it appears that the same type of gemination occurs there for the underlying nasals as well as for the underlying prenasalised voiced plosives where the gemination sequence will then be a surface nasal followed by a prenasalised plosive:

m + mb	ñ + ñj
n + nd	ŋ + ŋg

However, this type of gemination must be much less distinguishable since it consists of a slight lengthening of the nasal which is already present in the phoneme, which could explain the fact that they are not accounted for by Lopis as geminated. Examples of gemination of nasals and voiced plosives/prenasalised voiced plosives in the two dialects can be seen in the suffixation of the negative perfective -rii¹⁶, where -r- is realised as a gemination of the previous consonant. The verbs exemplified below are:

underlying nasal	underlying plosive (Padee) or prenasalised plosive (Cangin), surfacing as nasal in syllable coda position in both dialects:	
ñam 'eat'	am	'hold'
an 'drink'	man	'resemble'
ñaañ 'be clever'	pañ	'marry'
	aŋ	'be wide'

verbs + negative perfective suffix -rii /-i/:

	Padee	Cangin	
2.	ñam-bii	ñam-mbi	'has not eaten'
3.	an-ndii	an-ndii	'has not drunk'
4.	ñaañ-jii	ñaañ-ñjii	'is not clever'
5.	am(< ab)-bii	am(< amb)-mbii	'has not held'
6.	man(< mad)-dii	man(< mand)-ndii	'does not resemble'
7.	pañ(< paj)-jii	pañ(< pañj)-ñjii	'has not married'
8.	aŋ(< ag)-gii	aŋ(< aŋg)-ŋgii	'is not wide'

¹⁶This suffix in Padee corresponds to the suffix -i in Lopis' description, which triggers gemination in the verb-final consonant.

11.3.5. Noun classes

The Cangin noun class system contains a class that is not attested in the Padee dialect. It is what Lopis calls *genre 1*, a class consisting of one single noun, the noun betëw' 'woman'. The basis for placing this noun in a separate class is the fact that its plural definite suffix differs from that of other classes. The noun class marker in this suffix is ḃ-. In Padee, this noun takes the same noun class marker in the plural definite suffix as the nouns of what we have labelled classes 1-3: c-, and in the singular definite form it takes the noun class marker f- which shows that it belongs to noun class 2 (see 2.1.1.).

root	definite sg.	definite pl.	
Cangin:betëw'	bet-i	betëw'-ḃi	(separate noun class labelled ' <i>genre 1</i> ' by Lopis - unattested in Padee)
Padee: beti	beti-fii	beti-cii	(class 2 in our description)

In representation by pronouns, or in the agreement marking in determining nominals, this noun has the same realisations in both dialects, following noun class 2 (f-).

Lopis also distinguishes a separate noun class with the class marker n-.¹⁷ She remarks that in pronoun representation and in agreement marking in determining nominals, these nouns take the same agreement marker as nouns of the zero-class (class 1 in our labelling). In our description, we interpret these nouns as belonging to class 1 (with a zero class marking), and the n- as an epenthetic nasal which is inserted wherever a vowel initial suffix is added to a word with a final vowel (see 1.3.3. and 2.1.). Thus, we claim that the difference which appears in the definite singular suffix in these nouns is explained by a morphophonological process rather than a further division into noun classes. This interpretation is based on the two facts already mentioned:

¹⁷This same noun class n- occurs in Pichl's article on "the Cangin group" (Pichl 1966).

- 1) The nouns with the consonant -n- in the place of a class marker in the definite suffix take the same agreement marker as nouns which have a zero class marker in the definite suffix.
- 2) The epenthetic nasal occurs with other suffixes with an initial vowel, wherever linked to a word with a final vowel.

11.3.6. Derivational affixes

In her chapter treating roots and derivations, '*lexicologie de base*', Lopis gives a list of the derivational affixes that may occur with the roots. Many of these affixes are easily identified with corresponding Padee affixes, taking into account the contractions and vowel changes described above. However, Lopis gives some affixes that have not been attested in the Padee dialect, or that have a different function or structure in the two dialects. These are the affixes in Cangin that differ from those in the Padee dialect:

nominal derivational affixes, occurring on a verb root:

-oy describing the result of an action

-or name of place

For both these functions, Padee normally uses a nominalised form of the verb, either without affixes which gives a noun in class 1, or by nominalising the infinitive which gives a noun of class 4. Padee also has a derivational suffix -aa' (which may be accompanied by the prefix di-) which is used in some cases to denote place of action (see 2.2.2.)

verbal derivational affixes:

-e occurs as a suffix on a noun root to produce a verb with the meaning of 'resemble a .../look like a ...'.

This type of derivation does not exist in Padee, where a separate phrasal verb, man na 'resemble' (lit: 'be similar with'), has to be used with the noun in question in order to

express the same notion. The derivation -e is found in Wolof with a similar function (see Fal et al. 1990:27).

-ndoh expresses "*simultanéité (entre deux action ou deux "actants")*" has not be found in Padee. There, the phonologically corresponding suffix, -doh, gives an apportative, centripetal notion of 'bring' (5.2.7.). However, the suffix -oh in Padee (5.2.6.) can express simultaneity since it is used for pluractional situations where more than one action (durative) *or* actors (reciprocal) are involved.

-yoh is described as "*répétition d'une action quand celle-ci est faite à plusieurs reprises.*" This corresponds to the intensive suffix -is in Padee.

-ox is said to mark the origin of the action, implicating the notion 'from' with the verb. Lomis notes that the use of this suffix increases the valency of the verb, in that it requires a locative complement. This corresponds to what we have found for the locative use of the suffix -oh in Padee (5.2.6.3.), although in our experience of its use, it is not the origin of the action 'from', but the actual location of the action that is expressed by this suffix. The reciprocal function of this suffix, -ox/-oh is found in both dialects.

adjectival affixes, occurring on the root of a stative verb:

In the formation of adjectives, the following two suffixes are used in Cangin: -ë' et -la.

These correspond to the following suffixes in Padee (2.3.2.3.):

-i' 'active'

-ra 'intensive active'

The functions of these suffixes are thus identical, but they show a phonological difference which can, to some extent, be explained by tendencies seen elsewhere in the dialect division: In the first suffix, the difference can be explained by the centralising

process of vowels. In the second suffix, this could be an example of the alternation between the consonants /r/ and /l/ that is mentioned by Lopis (see 11.3.1.).

11.3.7. Numeral contractions and ordinals

The numerals show a difference contrary to the tendency seen above. Here, it is Padee that presents the more contracted forms. It is the linked numerals 6-9 that differ in the two dialects:

	<u>Padee</u>	<u>Cangin</u>
6	yitnĩinoo	yútús nino
7	yitnakanak	yútús nē kanak
8	yitnakaahay	yútús nē kaaxay
9	yitnanikiis	yútús nē nikis

Another difference is the ordinal use of the numerals. In Padee, all numerals can function as ordinal adjectives when preceded by the ordinal prefix, except number 1. Here, the verb ḑeḑ 'be first' is used (2.3.2.4.). In Cangin, neither number 1 nor 2 can function as cardinals, but the following verbs are used to express the cardinal numbers:

kúlík 'precede' = 'first'
 tík ngē 'follow' = 'second'

Both these verbs exist in Padee, but they are not used in cardinal constructions.

11.3.8. The NP genitive construction and the adjective determiner

In the structure of the NP, there appear to be two main differences between the dialects: in the genitive construction and in the adjective determiner.

a) The genitive construction

It is in the genitive construction that we can discern a major difference between the dialects. In Padee, the genitive construction consists of the head (possessed) noun in its definite form (except when it is a relational noun), followed by the possessor NP in direct juxtaposition:

noun-DEF + NP

as in:

1. od-aa baal-aa 'the skin of the sheep'

skin-DEF sheep-DEF

In Cangin, the same notion would be expressed by the following structure which does not show direct juxtaposition as in Padee, but has the morpheme ëŋ added to the head noun:

2. ond-ëŋ mbaal-a 'the skin of the sheep'

To cast light over what happens, the Cangin genitive structure could be compared to the structure of the possessive pronoun suffix. In Padee, when the genitive NP is replaced by a pronoun, the following structures occur:

relational noun + relational pronoun suffix

noun-DEF + possessive pronoun suffix

The possessive pronoun actually consists of the preposition ga and the object pronoun suffix: -goo, -garaa, -gari etc.

3. kaan-faa-ga-raa 'your house'

house-DEF-ga-OBJ(2sg)

In Cangin, the following structure occurs with the suffix -Cëŋ, which Lopis calls the "*connectif*", followed by the object pronoun, called the "*pronom complétant*":

4. kaan-f + ëŋ -a > kaanfëŋga

house-"*connectif*"-OBJ

In our analysis, the suffix -fēŋ in Cangin seems to correspond to the definite suffix (fa) and the preposition ŋgë that have merged and undergone vowel weakening and deletion respectively. In example 4 above, this suffix is followed by the 2sg object pronoun suffix -ra, which after the vowel deletion of ngë to ŋg¹⁸ assimilates with the previous consonant:

kaan-fë-ŋ-ga > kaan-fa-ŋgë-ra

From this comparison, it is clear that the genitive construction in Cangin has the same structure as when the possessive pronoun occurs - ngë (Padee ga) that has merged with the definite suffix of the head noun - whereas Padee has a simple juxtaposition without the preposition ga, to form the genitive.

<u>Padee</u>	<u>Cangin</u>
od-aa baal-aa	ond-ëŋ mbaal-a
skin-DEF sheep-DEF	skin-DEF + ga sheep-DEF

b) The adjective determiner

In Cangin, the formation of the adjective is done in one of the following manners:

- by no suffix
- by the suffixes -ë' or -la

The two suffixes have their corresponding forms in Padee, as we have seen (11.3.6.), but the use of a stative verb as an adjective, without an adjectivising suffix, as Lopis claims happens in Cangin, has not been attested in Padee. In Padee, the adjectives without suffixes - the root adjectives (2.3.2.2.) - form a small group and among these, some may also appear as stative verbs (see 2.3.2.2.), but these adjective/stative verbs are restricted to the colour adjectives and a few others. For all other stative verbs, a

¹⁸Note that ng surfaces as a nasal, ŋ, in syllable coda position (see 11.3.2.)

participle suffix must be present to form a deverbal adjective. In Cangin, however, most stative verbs are described as occurring either with or without suffixes to function as adjectives:

5. kow'nox kē tam/tam-ē'/tam-la 'hot meat'
6. betēw' yē mor/mor-ē'/mor-la 'a beautiful woman'

11.3.9. The non-verbal clause

The non-verbal clause presents some differences across the dialects, when it consists of two NPs in an equative, identifying clause:

a) In Cangin, Lopis states that the following clauses are possible, where there are no linking elements between the NPs:

1. yāal-i noon 'the man is a Noon'
- man-DEF Noon

2. fē noon 'you are a Noon'
- you(sg) Noon

In Padee, however, there is normally a linking device between the NPs: The progressive particle Cii/Cum/Caa or the copular verb en 'be' would normally be used to express identifying clauses, as follows (8.1.3.):

3. yāal-ii, iñii yii noon 'the man is Noon'
- man-DEF P.I PROG Noon

4. fu yii noon / fu en noon 'you are Noon'
- you(sg) PROG Noon/ you be Noon

b) According to Lopis, the second NP constituent in example 5 below functions as a predicate, and it is possible for this NP to consist of a single subject pronoun:

5. noon-i mex 'the Noon, that's me'

Noon-DEF I

In Padee, the same notion would be expressed by the addition of the emphatic pronoun:

6. noon-ii, mi yërí

Noon-DEF I P.EMPH

In our interpretation, this would be a fronted NP followed by the subject NP which is focused by the emphatic pronoun. The whole clause is an ellipsis, lacking the predicate which is implied in a probable response to a question.

11.3.10. Lexical differences

The lexical differences are obviously part of the lexicon, and not of syntax, but in this specifically comparative context, a few general remarks could be made on this issue as part of the dialect picture. First we must stress that the dialects are all basically comprehensible to all Noon-speakers. Where there are lexical differences, these are generally part of common knowledge and jokes, and most people would be able to list the words that differ according to the geographical area. On a few occasions, a word that is different in one dialect has a clearly separate origin and does not exist in other dialects, as the example:

<u>Padee</u>	<u>Cangin</u>	
1. ne'	loos	'well'
2. ham	mbec	'dance'
3. lín	húl	'cultivate'

In many cases, however, words in one dialect may have corresponding words in others that are clearly relatable, but they might be used with other meanings or with less

frequency. For example, the word for 'younger sibling' in Cangin is, according to Lapis, tíkoxmën. The verb tík also exists in Padee with the meaning of 'follow'. The derived noun tíkoh means 'the one who follows', and the suffix -mun designates a human relation. So, all morphemes of the word tíkoxmën in Cangin are existent and comprehensible in Padee, but they are not used in the same context.

Finally, it is clear that some dialects use more words directly borrowed from Wolof or French in replacement for the original Noon words that are still known, but not in as frequent use. This feature, however, is more due to individual differences than to dialectal ones.

TEXT SAMPLE

MIIS GAYNDI

milk lion

1. En-ee beti na yaal-ci.
be-PAST woman and man-REL(3sg)
2. Yaal-aa daal, took-oo ki-'er-oh dara, yah-aa kúg-in,
man-DEF PTC.EMPH accept-PRES.NEG INF-give-DUR nothing hand-DEF bend-PERF
3. ee ɓa laak-in towu ti-yewin.
and they have-PERF children ATTR-many
4. Beti-faa ka'-ta ga ɓaa wée'-taa ga yii
woman-DEF go-NARR to P.I be.sure-OBJ(2sg) of P.REL
5. mín-di ki-hěwr-i'(< hěwíd-id) yen
can(AUX)-OBJ(3sg) INF-prepare-BEN something
6. bi en ɗa-n-aa yaal-ci took ki-er-oh.
until be thus-N-SUB man-REL(3sg) accept INF-give-DUR
7. An: «Mi dey, mi hay-ee dii fu tum-i'-too yen
COMPL I PTC.EMPH I come-PAST here you(sg) do-BEN-OBJ(1sg) something
8. bi iña mi meekis yaal-loo ɓéeɓ, ya e'-too.»
until P.REL I ask man-REL(1sg) all he give-OBJ(1sg)
9. An: «Iña-ma dey, atukoh-s-i na miis gayndi.
COMPL P.I-REF PTC.EMPH mix-PASS-HAB with milk lion
10. Heelnaa (< heel-nee-aa) miis gayndi, fu hay.»
fetch-DIST-IMP milk lion you(sg) come
11. Ya yaa y'ah luuf-aa.
s/he PROG go forest-DEF
12. Waa ya le'-'a luuf-aa, ya hot-ta gayndi-faa lím-in.
when s/he arrive-NARR forest-DEF s/he see-NARR lion-DEF give.birth-PERF
13. Ya hay-ya, ya ɓeɓ-pa ga pe'-caa-gari,
s/he come-NARR s/he take-NARR PART goats-DEF-POSS(3sg)
14. deey-doh-ha da, gayndi-faa ñam-ba.
approach-APP-NARR there lion-DEF eat-NARR
15. Kooh wiis-is-sa, ya ɓay-ya pe', ya ɓaat-ta ki-deey, gayndi-faa ñam-ba.

God make.day-REP-NARR s/he bring-NARR goat s/he add-NARR INF-approach lion-DEF eat-NARR

16. Kooh wíis-is-sa, ya baat-is-sa ki-deey', gayndi-faa ñam-ba,
God make.day-REP-NARR s/he add-REP-NARR INF-approach lion-DEF eat-NARR

17. bi gayndi-faa mee'-ta-ri.
until lion-DEF get.used.to-NARR-OBJ(3sg)

18. Waa en-da da, ya sek-ka bi tu-gayndi-taa taa ñap.
when be-NARR thus s/he wait-NARR until DIM-lions-DEF PROG nurse

19. Lak ya ñay-in ku-júlún-kaa-gari, ya nook-ka bíib-caa gayndi-faa,
as s/he bring-PERF DIM-calabash-DEF-POSS(3sg) s/he pull-NARR teats-DEF lion-DEF

20. ya yaa ten, ya yaa ten, ya yaa ten, bi dooy-ya.
s/he PROG milk s/he PROG milk s/he PROG milk until be.enough-NARR

21. Kooh wíis-sa, ya hay-doh-ha miis-maa, e'-ta naah-aa.
God make.day-NARR s/he come-APP-NARR milk-DEF give-NARR wise.man-DEF

22. Naah-aa wo'-i an:
wise.man-DEF say-OBJ(3sg) COMPL

23. «Fu tum-ee na bi fu laak-ka miis gayind-ee (< gayndi-e)?»
you(sg) do-PAST how until you have-NARR milk lion-PQ

24. An: «Aa', mi déy, daa mi tum-ee bi mi laak-ka miis gayndi da,
COMPL oh I PTC.EMPH P.REL I do-PAST until I have-NARR milk lion REL.M

25. tuut pe'-caa-goo leeh.
almost goats-DEF-POSS(1sg) finish

26. Waa mi ka'-ta luuf-aa fodaa daa fu lédír-ee-roo da,
when I go-NARR forest-DEF as P.REL you(sg) indicate-PAST-OBJ(1sg) REL.M

27. mi hot-ta gayndi-faa lím-in.
I see-NARR lion-DEF give.birth-PERF

28. Mi pëk-ís-sa pe'-faa-goo, mi ñay-ya bi ga yahaa-naa gayndi-faa, ya ñam.
I tie-REV-NARR goat-DEF-POSS(1sg) I bring-NARR until at side-DEF lion-DEF she eat

29. Mi hay-s-is-sa, mi deey'-s-uk-ka, gayndi-faa ñam-ba.
I come-REP-REP-NARR I approach-REP-REFL-NARR lion-DEF eat-NARR

30. Mi hay-s-is, mi deey'-s-uk, gayndi-faa ñam,
I come-REP-REP I approach-REP-REFL lion-DEF eat

31. bi gayndi-faa mee'-ta-roo.
until lion-DEF get.used.to-NARR-OBJ(1sg)

32. Waa towu-taa gayndi-faa en-us-sa na ki-ɓap, mi hay-ya,
when children-DEF lion-DEF be-PLUR-NARR with INF-nurse I come-NARR

33. mi ɓewí'-ta yah-aa, anee, mi ten-da ga ku-júlúŋ-kii
I extend-NARR hand-DEF thus I milk-NARR to DIM-calabash-DEF

34. mi hay-doh-i'-taa ɗa.»
I come-APP-BEN-OBJ(2sg) REL.M

35. Baa nak-ee-ri miis-maa ɗa wo'-'a-ri an:
person command-PAST-OBJ(3sg) milk-DEF REL.M say-NARR-OBJ(3sg) COMPL

36. «ŋis-at iŋii dú tum-i yiyi'.
leave-IMP(pl) P.REL you(pl) do-HAB DEM

37. Dii fu tum gayndi-fii ɗa, fu tum-ee yaal-fu ɗa-n-aa,
P.REL you(sg) do lion-DEF REL.M you(sg) do-PAST man-REL(2sg) thus-N-SUB

38. en-ee-n-aa iŋaa ya am ɓéeɓ, e'-taa.»
be-PAST-N-SUB P.REL s/he hold all give-OBJ(2sg)

39. Wa leeh-ha daa-ma.
it end-NARR there-REF

Free translation:

'Lion milk

There was a woman and her husband. The husband, he didn't accept to give anything, his arm was bent (i.e. he was greedy), and they had many children. The woman went to such a person who could prepare something for her so that her husband would accept to give.

She said: «Oh my, I came here for you to make me something so that my husband, whatever I ask from him, he will give it to me.»

He said: «Oh, that kind of thing, it has to be mixed with lion milk. Go and get lion milk and come back.»

She went to the forest. When she arrived in the forest, she saw a lioness that had given birth. She came, she took of her goats, approached there and the lioness ate. The next morning, she brought a goat, she came a bit closer, the lioness ate. The next morning, she came even closer, the lioness ate. (She did this) until the lioness got used to her. At that time, she waited until the cubs nursed. She had brought her little calabash, and now she pulled the teats of the lioness, she milked and milked and milked until she had enough.

The next morning, she brought the milk and gave it to the wise man. The wise man said to her:

«How did you do in order to get lion milk?»

She said: «Oh my, how I did to get lion milk, it almost cost me all my goats. When I went to the forest, to the place you advised me, I saw a lioness who had given birth. I untied my goat, I brought it next to the lioness, she ate. I returned, I came closer, the lioness ate. I returned, I came closer, the lioness ate until the lioness got used to me. When the lioness's cubs were nursing, I came, I took my hand like this, I milked into the little calabash that I had brought.»

The man who had asked her for the lion milk said to her:

«Leave this that you are doing now. As you did to this lioness, if you did this to your husband, he would give you everything he has.»

It ended there.'

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